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The Modern Courtier:

OR, THE

MORALS

OF

Tacitus

UPON

FLATTERY.

Paraphras'd and Illuſtrated

With ſeveral uſeful Obſervations, by the Sieur *Amelot de la Houſſaie.*

Newly Done out of French.

LONDON:

Printed by *H. Clark*, for *John Taylor*, at the Ship in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1687.

BIBLIOTHECA LAMBETHANA

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TO THE

READER.

IT was the Judgment of the Learned Philip Carriana, *That among all the Latin Historians, there was not any one, who was to be preferr'd before* Tacitus, *if equall'd to him, either for the Solidity of his Instructions conducing to Civil Life, or for his man-*

ner of Concise and Judicious Writing; which is the reason, that all his words are as so many Sentences. There is nothing unprofitable, says he, *in his Writings, nothing of Hyperbole, nothing of Circumlocution in his words.*

The Marquis Virgilio Malvezzi *speaks this farther of him, That his History consists in recounting the Actions of Soveraign Princes; and the Benefit that accrews to Us from thence is this, that*

that we may learn thereby those things which may be of great use to us in an Age, wherein almost all the Estates of the World are under Monarchical Government.

This Treatise then contains several Observations upon the Choicest Morals of that Famous Historian, written in French *by the* Sieur Amelot de la Houssaie, *Dedicated to* Monsieur Boucherat, *Chancellor of* France, *and Printed with the*

the Allowance of that Potent Monarch now Raigning in that Flouriſhing Kingdom.

This is enough to recommend theſe few Sheets to your Reading; For tho' the Deſign may ſeem to require a larger Epiſtle, yet I am apt to believe it would be ſuperfluous at ſuch a time as this, when the World is grown weary of long Prefaces; as alſo for that all Perſons who delight in good Authours,

be

have too much Sense, to be inform'd of the Benefit of Tacitus's *Morals, and the Use which ought to be made of them.*

A Catalogue *of Books Printed for and ſold by* John Taylor *at the Ship in St.* Paul's *Church-Yard.*

1. THe Travels of *Monſieur de Thevenot* into the *Levant*, in Three Parts, *viz.* I. Into *Turkey*, II. *Perſia*, III. The *Eaſt-Indies*, new done out of *French*, in Folio.

2. A Free Enquiry into the Vulgarly receiv'd Notion of Nature, made in an Eſſay, Addreſs'd to a Friend: By the Honourable *Robert Boyl*, Eſq; Fellow of the Royal Society. The ſame is alſo in Latin for the Benefit of Forreigners.

3. The Martyrdom of *Theodora* and of *Dydimus*, By a Perſon of Honour.

4. The Declamations of Quintilian, being an Exercitation or Praxis upon his Twelve Books, concerning the Inſtitution of an Orator. Tranſlated (from the *Oxford* Theatre Edition) into *Engliſh*, by a Learned and Ingenious Hand, with the Approbation of ſeveral Eminent School-Maſters in the City of *London*.

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ever attended Doubtful Titles to the Crown, Historically demonstrated from the Wars between the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*.

6. *Academia Scientiarum*: Or, The Acamy of Sciences. Being a short and easie Introduction to the Knowledge of the Liberal Arts and Sciences; with the Names of those famous Authors that have written on every particular Science. In *English* and *Latine*. By *D. Abercromby*, M. D.

7. Publick Devotion and the Common Service of the Church of *England* Justified and Recommended to all honest and well-meaning (however prejudic'd) Dissenters. By a Lover of his Country and the *Protestant* Religion.

8. The Best Exercise. To which is added, A Letter to a Person of Quality, concerning the Holy Lives of the Primitive Christians. By *Anthony Horneck*, Preacher at the *Savoy*.

9. The Mother's Blessing: Or, The Godly Counsel of a Gentlewoman not long since deceas'd, left behind for her Children. By Mrs. *Dorothy Leigh*.

10. The Inchanted Lover: Or, The Amours of *Narcissus* and *Aurelia*. A Novel. By *Peter Bellon*, Author of the Pilgrim.

The

The Modern Courtier: OR THE MORALS OF *TACITUS*, CONCERNING FLATTERY Lately Reviv'd.

ESSAY I.

EGregious and Sparkling Wits are soon discourag'd and depress'd, where Flattery once gets Footing and Prospers, *Tacitus Annal. l.* 1.

The meaning of the Text is, *That there was no want of Egregious and Sparkling Wits, till they were Stupifi'd by Adulation.* D'Ablancourt renders it, *While*

there

there was no ſpeaking of Truth without a Candid Complacency, Which does not *does not ſufficiently expreſs the Sence* of Tacitus, *whoſe meaning is, that where Flattery Reigns, there follows a decay of Towring Ingenuities, for that all Recompences and Rewards go to the Flatterers.* Therefore Monſieur *Harlay Chanvalon*, has render'd the words much better, thus, till Noble Ingenuities had debas'd themſelves by Flattery.

There needs no other Comment upon theſe words, then that of *Tacitus* himſelf. Many Authors, ſaith he, have Compil'd us the Hiſtory of the Seven Firſt Ages of the Roman Commonweal, at what time they Wrote with no leſs Freedom then Eloquence: but after it was the Intereſt of Peace that the Supream Power ſhould be devolv'd upon one ſingle Perſon, thoſe lofty Genius's were ſoon Eclips'd. And the Reaſon was, for that Dominion having depriv'd Equality of all Command, every one ſtrove to please and comply with the Prince, that he might render himſelf capable of Honour and Preferment, to which he could not aſcend, but by the ſteps of Servitude. For ſo it is, that Servitude and Flattery are two inſeparable Companions: And

it was upon the occaſion of the ſhameful Flatteries of the Senate, that *Tiberius* himſelf was wont ſo often to Exclaim: *Poor Souls prepar'd for Slavery.* The younger *Pliny*, whom we ſhall frequently cite, by reaſon of the Conformity of his Maxims with thoſe of *Tacitus*, whom he caus'd to examine his Writings, ſpeaking of his Uncles Books, makes an excuſe for eight, which were not wrote in the ſame Stile, and wanted thoſe Sinews of Eloquence, that gave manly force to all the Reſt; becauſe they were Written under the Reign of *Nero*, when the Servile Fears of Men would not permit 'em to write with Freedom. And in one of his Epiſtles, he adds, That he liv'd in the Reign of another Emperour, when the Senate was become altogether Mute, and meerly Stupifi'd, by reaſon of long Silence.

ESSAY II.

Caius and *Lucius*, the Sons of *Agrippa*, he introduc'd into the Family of the *Ceſars*, and them, tho' he made a Semblance of an utter a-

verſion to any ſuch Deſign, he mo
earneſtly deſir'd to have Proclaim'
Princes of the Youth, and to be N
minated for Conſuls.

*Princes of the Youth; that is to ſa
Preſumptive Heirs of the Empire.* D'A
lancourt *renders it thus. He had Adopt
the Sons of* Agrippa, Caius *and* Luci
*and caus'd 'em to be Proclaim'd Princes of t
Youth, and earneſtly deſir'd they might be
Nomination for Conſuls, tho' to outwa
appearance, he teſtified an extreme unwilli
neſs to have it ſo.*

Flattery is always the Companion
Advanc'd Fortune. For *Caius* and *Luci*
were no ſooner admitted into the Imp
rial Family, but the Senate and Rom
People deſign 'em for the Empire. A
that which is yet more remarkable
this, That theſe two Princes, who h
not as yet aſſum'd the Robe of Manhoo
and conſequently were not capable
Publick Employments, were already Co
ſuls Elected by the Senate and Peop
altho' *Auguſtus*, out of an Affected Modeſt
ſeem'd ſo unwilling to give his Conſe
But Flattery is ingenious and ſtudious

Insinuate; she devines with ease what it is that Princes desire; so that let them cover their Longings with never so much Art, she will find out the Secret. And this was that of which *Galba* gave warning to *Piso*, when he us'd this Expression to him; *Thou wilt have much ado, how Wise, how Resolute, how Constant soever thou may'st be* (Irrumpet Adulatio) *Flattery will force thy Modesty; and make her self Mistress of all thy Affections.*

ESSAY III.

Nero was only left of all the Sons in Law: Him all the Popular Adoration Courted.

D'Ablancourt *renders it*; *There remain'd no more alive then* Tiberius, *so that Fortune began to cast an Eye upon him alone.*

While *Marcellus* and *Agrippa*, both *Augustus*'s Sons in Law, were alive, as also *Caius* and *Lucius*, the Sons of *Agrippa*, *Tiberius* had much ado to brush off several slights and Scorns, that were put upon him in the Family of *Augustus*, his Father

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ther in Law. But when the Palace wa cmpty by the Death of all his Rivals then he rul'd Lord and Maſter: All Peo ple made their Addreſſes to him; the took no notice of any Body elſe; Courte no Body elſe but only him alone. *Illu cuncta vergere.* The words alſo imply, as if *Tacitus* would ſeem to intimate, tha they began even to neglect *Auguſtus* him ſelf; as it is the Cuſtom of Subjects, more eſpecially Courtiers to adore the Riſing Beams, and forſake the Setting Sun. Flattery has been always ſway'd by Intereſt, and Mercenary. When Princes grow in Years, and begin to ſtoop towards the Grave, Flattery removes her Altars, and offers her Incenſe to thoſe who are to Succeed, to the end ſhe may be ſure betimes to make ſure of their earlieſt Favour and good Opinion. Therefore it was a Sentence of *Galba*, grounded upon good Reaſon, that *Flattery was vaid of Love*; and that there was not any Poiſon more dangerous then hers. And I wiſh it were the Will of Heaven, that all Princes were as well Convinc'd of this Truth, as *Galba*. Surely it would be much better for the General Proſperity of their Affairs; and their Reputation, of which they can never be too jealous, would

would advance it self to a higher Pinacle of Grandeur. For then they would have Subjects that would adore their Persons, whereas those Many Flatterers that croud about their Thrones, Idolize nothing but their Exalted Fortune. And therefore it was, that *Tiberius* and *Galba* always contemn'd and scorn'd 'em.

ESSAY. IV.

CONsuls, Fathers, Knights, all ran headlong into Slavery; and by how much the more Illustrious they were, by so much the more Deceitful, and speedy in their Motion: And with a Compos'd Gravity, that they might not seem to be too much overjoy'd at the Death of the deceas'd Emperour, nor sad at such a Conjecture as the Advancement of the Succeeding Prince, they intermix'd their Tears with Joy, and their Lamentations with Adulation.

At Rome, *says* D'Ablancourt, *all Degrees of Men, Knights, Senators, and*

Conſuls, ran headlong into Slavery, and the moſt Illuſtrious and Eminent firſt of all; compoſing ſo their Looks and Countenances, that they might not ſeem joyful for the Death of Auguſtus, *nor ſad that* Tiberius *was come to the Throne. Nevertheleſs their Tears, their Condolements and Congratulations, were all but cunning Diſſimulation.*

Flattery is always Exceſſive at the beginning of a new Reign: For every one ſtrives to be Complaiſant and to advance his Fortune, by Ingratiating himſelf. Even they themſelves, who are not addicted to Flattery, become Flatterers then, ſpurr'd on by Envy and Jealouſie, not enduring that their Competitors ſhould gain a greater aſcendant over the Affections of their Prince then themſelves, and fearing leaſt Favours ſhould advance their Equals to be their Superiours. The Grandees are oblig'd to Flatter, in regard there is an abſolute Neceſſity for them to pleaſe, that ſo they may be able to preſerve their Grandeur. Every Prince at the beginning of his Reign is ſubject to miſtruſt, not knowing whither the Great Ones are well pleas'd or diſguſted at his Advancement. Therefore it is, that he makes it his buſineſs to ſound the Affecti-

ons

ons of his Nobility; and that he ſtudies to obſerve their Countenances and their Diſcourſes. Which is the Rea on that we we find all Men in all Companies, ſtriving to outvie one another in Adulation and Servitude.

ESSAY V.

Valerius Meſſala added, That the Senators ſhould every Year renew their Oaths of Fidelity to *Tiberius*: And being ask'd by *Tiberius*, whither it was by his Order that he had given thoſe hints to the Senate, he anſwer'd of his own accord, That in thoſe thinge which Concern'd the Commonweal, he was not wont to follow any other Counſels then his own, not caring whither others were offended or no. That only ſort of Flattery then remain'd.

Says D'Ablancourt, *When* Tiberius *had ask'd him, whither he had given him Orders to ſpeak what he had ſaid, he anſwer'd, That what concern'd the Republic, he never took*

advice of any Perſon. Where he leaves out, Vel cum periculo Offenſionis, Wherein chiefly conſiſts undiſcernable ſpurn of abſolute Controul, and the diſguis'd aſſertion of Liberty. And beſides, he omits the following Sentence, *Ea ſola ſpecies adulandi ſupererat,* Which makes a moſt graceful and pleaſing Epiphonema to what went before.

The Queſtion which *Tiberius* put to *Meſſala*, plainly ſhews, that there are certain Flatteties, which are ſo far from being grateful to Princes, that they rather bluſh and are aſham'd to hear 'em pronounc'd. But from one piece of ſervile Flattery, which had wounded *Tiberius*'s Modeſty, *Meſſala* drives on to another, which under the falſe appearance of a Bravado, and an undaunted Courage, concludes in the Abſolute Annihilation of Liberty. For while he feigns as if he thought *Tiberius* offended with his Advice, as one that really was reſolv'd never to take upon him the Burthen of the Empire, he maintains by his Reply, That it was not the Power of the Empire to excuſe Him, and by Conſequence, that there was a compulſive neceſſity for Him to accept of the Sovereign Power maugre,

maugre his averſion to the Contrary proteſting that he would rather incur the Princes Indignation, then be debarr'd from ſpeaking freely whatever he thought might be for the Service of his Country.

ESSAY VI.

THE Fathers unanimouſly cry'd out, that the Body ſhould be carry'd to the Funeral Pile, upon the Shoulders of the Senators.

D'Ablancourt *renders it, Then the Senate cry'd out, that it was but decent for the Body to be carry'd to the Funeral Pile upon the Shoulders of Senators.*

There needs but one Flatterer to infect a whole Society. *Meſſala* had no ſooner deliver'd his fawning Opinion, but the whole Senate are for improving and ſtriving to outvye his glozing Diſſimulation. *Meſſala* had ſpoken like a Colloguing Courtier, and the Senate ſpeaks like ſo many abject Slaves: For it was a Duty incumbent only to the Slaves to carry the Bodies

Bodies of their Maſters to the Funeral Pile.

ESSAY. VII.

NOR were the Fathers leſs Prodigal of their Adulation toward *Auguſta*. But *Tiberius* told 'em, there was a Moderation to be us'd in beſtowing Female Honours.

Says D'Ablancourt, *Their Flattery was not only exceſſive toward the Emperour, but alſo towards his Lady.*

Princes are willing enough that Honours ſhould be beſtow'd upon their Mothers, or their Kindred; but they cannot endure that any Perſon whatever, ſhould be made their Equal. But this was that which the Senate were about to do, when they decreed that glorious Title of MOTHER OF HER COUNTRY to *Livia*. For indeed Flatterers are ſtrongly ſubject to one piece of Imprudence, for that as they are a ſort of People, that make their Intereſt the only Idol of their Adulation, looking one way but

but rowing another, they never meaſure their ſtudy'd Encomium's according to the Merit, or Quality, or Dignity of the Perſon, but give the ſame Panegyricks to a Judge, a Chancellor, a Preſident, or an Earl, *&c.* as to a Sovereign Prince. And thus we find at this day ſeveral Illuſtrious Epithites, whither before large Folio's, or Plays, or Diſcourſes upon mean and frivolous Subjects, which are allowable to none but Kings and abſolute Princes. Which is the Reaſon that *France* now mainly ſtands in need of a PRAGMATIC Sanction, like to that which *Philip* the II. ſet forth in the Year 1586. to prevent Abuſes of the ſame Nature. As for Women, *Tiberius* like a Politic Prince, well underſtood how dangerous a thing it was to raiſe their Pride, their Vanity, their Luxury, their Avarice, their Ambition, their Inſolence, and their Cruelty, which according to *Tacitus*, are the uſual Paſſions incident to their Sex. And this Maxim of *Tiberius*, is well obſerv'd in *Hungary*, where the Queens, at the Ceremony of their Coronation, are never Crown'd but upon the Shoulders, to let 'em know that the Kingdom has no need of their Heads, the King's being altogether ſufficient for the weight of Government.

ES-

ESSAY VIII.

THE Name of Father of his Country, frequently by the People crouded in among his Titles, *Tiberius* refus'd; Nor would he permit any Oaths to be Sworn for the Obſervation of his Acts, alledging that all the Acts of Mortal Men were frail and uncertain, and the more he was advanc'd in Power, the more ſlippery was the Pinacle upon which he ſtood.

He excus'd himſelf, ſays D'Ablancourt, *by urging the Inconſtancy of Human Events, affirming that the higher he was Exalted, the more dangerous would be his Fall, and the more likely to happen.*

Nothing better becomes a Great and Glorious Prince, then to withſtand the aſſaults of Flattery. The Senate had decree'd, that all the Acts of *Tiberius* ſhould be Sworn to; that is to ſay, that they ſhould be bound to Confirm and Juſtifie,

ſtifie, whatever he did to be Legally and Warrantably done. But *Tiberius* was of a contrary Opinion; that he was ſo far from being Infallible, that he was more then others in danger of Failing in his Judgment, for that his High Employment, and the Burthen of the Ponderous Charge upon his Shoulders, was not only more difficult then any other to undergo, but more Obnoxious alſo to Human Accidents.

Princes have always been accuſtom'd to have Flatterers at their Elbows, who Swear continually to all their Acts; Inſinuating that God has given 'em a Univerſal Knowledge, and a Judgment that cannot err. So that we muſt not wonder if ſo many Princes miſcarry in their Government, for want of Faithful Servants that will open their Lips to tell 'em Truth. Therefore a Politic *Spaniard*, giving the Reaſon why it was the Cuſtom for many Princes to carry their Jeſter along with 'em where ever they went: * Becauſe, ſays he, they were Wiſe and Prudent Men; for they did not make uſe of thoſe Jeſters for Sport or Diver-

* *Gracian* in his 3*d*. Dialogue of his 3*d*. Part of his *Criticon*.

tiſe-

tiſement, but for Information. *And in another Place*, † Theſe Jeſters, ſays he, are the Oracles of Truth, who fearleſsly diſcover what others have unwarily utter'd in their Hearing.

Which is a great Aſſiſtance to Princes, who never can Correct the Fault before they know it.

† In his *Ferdinand.*

ESSAY IX.

THE Tribunes and Centurions reported oft'ner what was grateful to the Ear then what was true: The Freedmen ſtill retain'd a twang of their former Slavery: Friends were all addicted to Flatter: But 'twas his buſineſs to know the inſide of the Soldiers Hearts, when alone and thinking themſelves ſecure, they freely imparted their Hopes and Fears at their Military Meals.

D'Ablancourt renders the whole thus: *For that the Tribunes and Centurions made their reports rather as things were wiſh'd to be, then*

then according to Truth. That the Freedmen ſtill retain'd a ſmatch of their former Slavery, and treacherous Friendſhip only Flatter'd. He reſolv'd himſelf therefore to diſcover what he was uncertain to know by any other Information, and to penetrate the Minds of the Soldiers, when retir'd in their Tents, and familiarly diſcourſing over their Military Commons, they diſplay'd the naked verity of their Hopes and Fears.

Germanicus it ſeems one night took his Opportunity to walk in Diſguiſe and unattended through every Street of his Camp, and ſtopping at every Tent, heedfully Liſten'd to the familiar Diſcourſes of the Soldiers. Several great Princes have obſerv'd the ſame Method, to make thoſe Diſcoveries themſelves, which they were certain others conceal'd from their Knowledge. The Spaniſh Author laſt Quoted (in his *Ferdinand.*) ſays very pertinently, *That* Charles *the* V. *was become the Spie of his own Reputation. And that* Francis *the* I. *having ſpent a whole Night in the Dwelling of Simplicity*, that is to ſay, *in the Country among the Vulgar Hinds, diſcovered ſo many Things of high Imporoance to his Government, that he was often wont to repeat this ſaying, He had been loſt,*

loſt, unleſs he had been loſt; as he rode a Hunting. In like manner might he as well have ſaid what the Great *Antiochus* utter'd, upon his having been in a little Cottage, where he Diſcours'd with ſeveral poor People that knew him not, *That he had never heard Truth ſpoken till then.* And the ſame Author adds, *If it be ſo difficult for a private Man to know himſelf, what a Task muſt it be for a King? While Self-Love will not permit to know himſelf; nor, Flattery to know others. Princes have no Mirrours, and therefore muſt make uſe of their own Induſtry.* So then, there cannot be a more Beneficial piece of Induſtry to be their own *Perdu's*, when Men are diſcourſing over their Trenchers and Cups, with free and open Hearts; for then it is that they give their Tongues and Jocund Humours the liberty to Range; while Precaution and Reſerv'dneſs are laid aſide.

X.

ESSAY X.

Tiberius rejoyc'd to hear the Senate argue for the Laws against his Sons.

D'Ablancourt *renders it,* Tiberius *was glad to ſee his Sons, in that ſame famous Diſpute, made equal with the Laws.*

What a ſtrange thing Flattery is! The Diſpute was about the Election of a Pretor; for which Office there were ſeveral that ſtood. *Druſus* and *Germanicus*, the Sons of *Tiberius*, favour'd a Kinſman of their own, whereas the Roman Law preferr'd thoſe who had the moſt numerous Iſſue. However, notwithſtanding the Election was hotly bandy'd and oppos'd by the Senate, yet Favour at length carry'd it above the Law. Which is no more then what happens every day in other Courts. However let Princes be never ſo Vertuous and Moderate, yet they always take delight to prefer their Authority above the Laws, while it gives them the Opportunity of reaping to them-

themſelves the ſole Glory of ſubmitting afterwards. Thus it was that *Tiberius* one day Depreſs'd himſelf, to advance the high Opinion of his Moderation, returning in anſwer to the Flattery of a Senator, That the Cuſtomes of a Country prudently Eſtabliſh'd, and with which the People had always all along been ſatisfi'd, were not to be Chang'd, but upon mature and deep Premeditation: That Princes had too much Buſineſs already, and too much Power: That while they labour'd to advance and extend their own, they did but weaken the Authority of the Law. Laſtly, That there was no need of Application to a Prince, when the Laws were ſufficient to reform the Grievance. Here by the way we muſt obſerve, that in Republic's they ſay, The Laws are above Princes: But in Monarchies, Reaſon of State requires that the Prince ſhould be above the Laws: I ſpeak of Hereditary Monarchies; for in Elective Monarchies, the Laws are Superiour to the Prince, as in *Germany* and *Poland*, where the Government is Ariſtocratico-Monarchical.

ES-

ESSAY XI.

HE ſharply reprehended thoſe who gave the Epithite of Divine to his daily Employments, and gave him the Title of LORD.

Says D'Ablancourt, *He ſeverely reprov'd thoſe who call'd him Lord, and gave his daily Exerciſes the Epithite of Divine Occupations.*

There are ſome Flatterys, that render Princes Odious. *Tiberius*, who was hated enough already, had been much more Contemn'd, had he accepted of a Title, which *Auguſtus*, whoſe Example had always with him the force of a Law, had refus'd by a Decree. And for that reaſon it was that he thunder'd out his Indignation againſt Thoſe, who call'd him LORD. He was a Lord in Reality, but he would not that People ſhould call him ſo, as being deſirous they ſhould believe he did not look upon himſelf ſo to be. Politic Princes are contented with the Subſtance of their Power, and willingly part with all the reſt as meerly Super-

Superfluous. For Subjects are almoſt all of the humour of that ſame *Parthian* King, who was nothing troubl'd that his Brother bore the Yoke of Roman Servitude, ſo long as he did not wear the Scars and Marks of it. The greater Progreſs *Tiberius* made in taming the Senate with the vain ſhew of Liberty, the more he enlarg'd and eſtabliſh'd his Power. The more Popular his Words and Actions were, the more plyable he found the Great Men, and the more eaſily led to Servitude. He was offended with thoſe who call'd his Occupations, *Divine*; for becauſe he knew himſelf not undeſervedly to be tax'd with the Common Stain of his Family, which was Haughtineſs, he was deſirous that the People ſhould believe he went hand in hand with the Senate in the Goverment. *I know*, ſaid he, *that I am but a Mortal Man, and ſubject to all the Frailties of Humanity, and therefore 'tis enough for me to be Honour'd with the firſt Seat in the Senate, and more then enough if I ſupply it well.*—— Princes are Mortal, but the Commonwealth is Eternal. By this acknowledgment he was no more then a Member, and he permitted thoſe Honours that were pay'd him no otherwiſe, then as they were aſcrib'd to the reſt of the Senators.

Who

Who though they gave little Credit to what he ſaid, yet were they pleas'd to hear him deliver himſelf with ſo much Modeſty, ſo much the rather becauſe it was not always his luck to be Popular for all that. Obſerve moreover, that by the Difference which he made between Princes as Mortals, and Commonwealths as being Eternal, he ſeem'd to intimate, that he was ſo far from being LORD of the Empire, that he had little Concern in the Government of it; only his Eternity reſided in the Body of the Senate, which was Immortal, and was able alone to ſhake the Affairs of the Univerſe.

ESSAY XII.

WHO fear'd Liberty, yet hated Adulation.

Says D'Ablancourt, *Under a Prince who hated Flattery, yet was no friend to Liberty.*

To hate Flattery is to love Liberty; to hate Liberty, is to love Flattery. Nevertheleſs *Tiberius* hated both the one and

and the other. A ſtrange thing, ſays *Tacitus*, that a Prince who left remaining not the leaſt Footſtep of Liberty, ſhould be tir'd and diſcontented to behold in the Senate, ſuch an Effeminate and Servile Complacency. Certainly 'tis a very difficult thing to find the way how to pleaſe the Palate of a Politic Prince. If you Flatter him continually, you incur his Contempt; if you deal too frankly and freely with him, you meet his Indignation. How Vertuous ſoever he be, too much Liberty offends him; becauſe it appears not ſo reſpectful as Flattery. And if they are wickedly enclin'd, Flattery then becomes ſuſpected; becauſe her Encomiums are oftentimes the Reproaches of Vices, which are oppoſite to Vertue. Therefore had *Tacitus* reaſon to ſay, that a Man has enough to do, who has to deal with a Prince that underſtands what Flattery is. For which reaſon it was an Ingenious and Witty ſaying of the Counteſs *D'Aranda*, that there was no Regiſter in the Heart of a King, and by conſequence it was not to be read. Moreover Princes find greater Benefit by Liberty, then Flattery, as being deluded by one, but inſtructed by the other. But Courtiers take the ſurer Courſe to attain their

their ends by Flattery, then by Liberty of Speech; while the one is grateful, the other odious to the Generality of Great Perſonages.

ESSAY XIII.

THE ſame undeſtinguiſh'd Lamentations among all: an intermix'd and confus'd Throng of Mourners, and every one Weeping at their own rate. There could be no Adulation there, while all Men knew that the Death of *Germanicus* was welcom to *Tiberius*.

D'Ablancourt *ſays, That it was no formal Funeral Pomp, or ſtudy'd Mourning, to gratifie* Tiberius, *who they knew was well pleas'd with the Death of* Germanicus.

The Common People are not capable of Diſſimulation, nor by conſequence of Flattery. For when *Tiberius* outwardly bewail'd the Death of *Germanicus*, they were ſo far with Complying with his inward Joy, that they ſought to ſpite him

by all the Demonſtrations of a Public and Real Lamentation imaginable; and celebrating the praiſe of the Deceas'd. And indeed there has been in all Times, a certain kind of Antipathy between the Prince and the People. They who are hated by the Prince, are generally belov'd by the Multitude. On the other ſide, they who are the Darlings of the People, are never favour'd by the Prince. *Germanicus* was mortally hated by *Tiberius*, becauſe he was the Peoples Favourite; and the People had an Antipathy againſt *Druſus*, becauſe *Tiberius* had a greater kindneſs for him, then for his Brother. The People ador'd *Agrippina*; *Tiberius* perſecuted her to Death. When the Wife of *Druſus* lay Inn of two Male Infants, *Tiberius* could not contain his Joy, nor the People their ſorrow. Becauſe the Reinforcement of *Druſus*'s Family weaken'd and depreſs'd the Family of *Germanicus*. But when *Druſus* dy'd, the People were overjoy'd to hear the Emperours Lamentations, in hopes the Family of *Germanicus*, againſt whom his Father had all along diſplay'd his Enmity, would now revive and flouriſh in its former Glory.

SE-

ESSAY. XIV.

HE nam'd *Manias Lepiodus*, and *Junius Bleſus*, to chooſe which of the two they pleas'd to be ſent *Proconſul* into *Africa*. *Lepidus* excus'd himſelf by reaſon of the Crazie Conſtitution of his Body, and for that he had a Daughter ready to be Marry'd: But there was another Reaſon which was Conjectur'd at by all, tho' by him not ſo much as mention'd, which was, that *Bleſus* was Uncle to *Sejanus*, and therefore aſſur'd of the Preferment: *Bleſus* alſo refus'd the Proffer, but not with that Fervency and Sincerity as the other did, nor was he ſo much Applauded by his Flatterers, who were alſo the ſame that flatter'd *Sejanus*.

D'Ablancourt ſays, *That* Lepidus *grounded his refuſal upon his Indiſpoſition of Body, alledging beſides, that he had a Daughter to Marry; but that there was another Rea-*

ſon which he durſt not diſcover; becauſe his Rival was Uncle to Sejanus, *and therefore would be ſure to be preferr'd before him.* Bleſus *alſo made a refuſal; but not with half that Earneſtneſs, nor ſo loudly Applauded by thoſe that flatter'd him.*

When *Tiberius* propos'd *Lepidus* and *Bleſus* to the Senate, he propounded a Choice between Merit and Favour. *Lepidus* was a Perſon of Merit, as being a Perſon whom *Auguſtus* had adjudg'd worthy and fit to Govern the Empire. But *Bleſus* was the Favourite, as being Uncle to *Sejanus*. *Tiberius* nam'd *Lepidus* in the firſt place, ſeemingly deſigning to give the Precedency to Merit; but he knew well, that Flattery would bequeath it to Favour. The excuſes which *Lepidus* alledg'd were receiv'd with Applauſe and Acclamation, as being no leſs grateful to *Tiberius*, then to *Sejanus* and *Bleſus*. But the excuſes which *Bleſus* produc'd could not be heard; while every one knew there was a willing force deſign'd to engage him to acceptance. For Favour and Flattery go hand in hand together; they never part Company, attended by Injuſtice that follows cloſe at their Heels.

E S-

ESSAY XV.

CEſtius the Senator diſcours'd, That Princes indeed were like the Gods, but that neither Gods bow'd down their Ears to the unjuſt Supplications of their Adorers.

Says D'Ablancourt, Ceſtius *declar'd, That Princes were like the Gods, but that the Gods never liſten'd to Prayers that were unjuſt.*

Princes are oftentimes compar'd to God; and indeed they may be ſaid to be Corporeal Gods; according to that of *Vegetius, There is a faithful Devotion to be paid to the Emperour, as to our preſent and Terreſtrial God.* God himſelf alſo gives them the ſame Title, *I have ſaid ye are Gods.* But the Illuſtrious and Cæleſtial Title ſhould put 'em in remembrance of their Principal and God-like Office, which is to diſtribute Juſtice to their Subjects, and prevent the Oppreſſion of the Poor. 'Tis a uſual thing for them that Kneel at their Feet for Favours and Preferments, to tell 'em they are abſolute in Power,

and that they are the Images of the Almighty: But for the ſame reaſon, they are oblig'd to take care that all their Grants be juſt, for fear of defacing that ſame glorious Similitude. 'Tis a great Weakneſs in a Prince to be ſo timorous, as not to dare juſtly to deny what others dare demand without regard to Juſtice. Certainly, that King ſpoke like a Vertuous Prince, who being preſs'd to keep an Illegal Promiſe, reply'd, That 'twas impoſſible he ſhould ever have made an Unjuſt Promiſe. Thus *Charles* the V. being inform'd that he had ſign'd a Grant that was contrary to Equity, ſent for it again, and after he had tore it, *I love my Soul*, ſaid he, *much better then my Writing*.

S E-

ESSAY XVI.

Dolabella Cornelius, while he ſtrove to outvie the reſt, ſtumbled into a moſt abſur'd piece of Flattery, and Decreed, that he ſhould make an *Ovant* entry into the City, returning from *Campania*.

Says D'Ablancourt, Dolabella *deſirous to ſurpaſs all others, fell into a Ridiculous piece of Flattery, propoſing to decree* Tiberius *the Honour of a Petty Triumph.*

Could there be a more Impertinent piece of Flattery then this, to decree a Triumphant Entrie to a Prince, meerly upon his Return from a bare Progreſs? But *Tiberius* had too much Wit to be in the humour to accept of ſuch an Honour, which had render'd him more ridiculous then the Curry-Favour that decreed it him. *I am not ſo indigent of Honour*, ſaid he to the Senate, *after having Tam'd ſo many Warlike Nations, and receiv'd and refus'd ſo many Honours in my Youth, as in my Declining Age to beg a Counterfeit Tri-*

umph for a Journey of Pleaſure almoſt within view of Rome *it ſelf.* Princes that have acquir'd a ſubſtantial Reputation, as *Tiberius* had done, in the *Eaſt*, in *Germany* and *Pannonia*, or *Hungary*, ſcorn all falſe Honours: And to flatter 'em, is to incur their Diſpleaſure; becauſe their Renown has no need of borrow'd Augmentation. When their Praiſes flow from the Lips of Flatterers, they become ſuſpected; for it is with Flatterers as with Lyars, whom no body believes, even when they ſpeak Truth. So that Princes have the greateſt reaſon to abhor their vain Idolizers, who rob their Vertue of more true Glory, then the Sophiſticate Honour comes to, ſo ſedulouſly prepar'd for a falſe and unſeaſonable Glitter.

ESSAY XVII.

ONly *Rubellius Blandus* held with *Lepidus*; the reſt all ſided with *Agrippa.*

Says D'Ablancourt, *Of all the Conſular Senators, only* Rubellius Blandus *was of* Lepidus's *Opinion? the reſt condemned* Priſcus *to Death.* *Agrippa*

Agrippa had adjudg'd to Death a certain Roman Knight accus'd to have cheated *Tiberius*, in preſenting him an Elegie upon the Death of *Germanicus*, which he had made for *Druſus*, who was recovered from a Diſeaſe, of which 'twas thought he would have dy'd. *Lepidus*, according to his Cuſtom, which was to moderate the rigour of ſevere Sentences, inſiſted, that the mild Temper of the Prince, and the Example of their Anceſtors, would not admit that they ſhould run to that Heighth, as not to make a diſtinction between Words and Actions; and that Oſtentation was not to be puniſh'd as a Criminal Offence: That they might find out ſuch a Medium, ſo that the Offender might be puniſh'd, and yet they have no occaſion ever to repent of too much Clemency, or too unwary Severity. That a Man who made it his ſtudy to write Verſes and read 'em to Women, to acquire the reputation of being a Poet, was neither in a Capacity to do the Public any harm, if they ſuffer'd him to live; nor conſiderable enough, to be made an example of Terrour, if they put him to Death; and therefore that it was ſufficient to Baniſh him, and Confiſcate his Eſtate. But this Prudent and Grave

Advice had but one only Perſon to applaud it; while *Agrippa*, tho' his Opinion and Intentions were unjuſt, had all the reſt of the Voices of his ſide, becauſe he flatter'd the Inclinations of the Prince, who was both cruel and greedy of Revenge. One Flatterer makes many, while they are afraid to be leſs forward then He, to ſupport the Prince's Intereſts, if they do not ſide with that Opinion which flatters moſt.

ESSAY XVIII.

HE ſpoke Modeſt Things concerning the Manners of the Young Man, nor did he add any thing of untruth to ſet a higher value upon his Parts.

Says D'Ablancourt, *He added ſomething, as to* Druſus, *but without Flattery.*

When *Tiberius* mention'd *Germanicus*, to whom he bare a particular Spleen and Envy, he ſpar'd for no Words, nor no Applauſes, becauſe he Flatter'd him, and was willing the Senate ſhould believe he ſaid

ſaid more then he meant. But when he ſpoke of *Druſus*, who was his own Son, he was always thrifty of his Expreſſions, as being deſirous they ſhould believe all that he ſaid; as indeed he never did ſpeak any thing of him but what every one knew to be Truth. Behold here the difference between Praiſing and Flattering. To Praiſe, is truly to declare the real Worth and Merits of any Perſon and no more: Whereas he who Flatters, either Aggravates, or Lyes. He that Aggravates, attributes more to the Perſon then he deſerves: And he may be ſaid to Lye, who gives to Vices the appellation of Vertues, that are their Oppoſites, as it is the cuſtom of all that Flatter.

ESSAY XIX.

THE Fathers had ſtudy'd his Oration before hand; ſo that the Flattery was the more finely Spun.

Says D'Ablancourt, *The Senators waited for this Requeſt, which render'd the Flattery more delicate.*

If

If Flattery be generally ſo ſuttle and Ingenious as it is, what is there which it is not able to invent to ſhew her Complacency, after a ſerious Meditation? If ſhe be ſo pliant and ſubmiſſive, when her Acts are unconſtrain'd and voluntary, to what a low degree of Puſilanimous Baſeneſs will ſhe not condeſcend and poorly ſtoop, when once neceſſity and awful force compel her?

ESSAY XX.

M. *Silanus*, in contempt of the Conſulſhip, labour'd for the Honour of the Princes, and deliver'd it, as his own Opinion that the Names of the Conſuls ſhould be no longer affix'd to Public or Private Acts, as the Rule of Kalenders and Chronologies, but the Names of thoſe that had the Tribunitial Power. But as for *Quintus Haterius*, when he propos'd that the Decrees of the Senate for that day, ſhould be ſet up in the Court in Letters of Gold, the Old Man became the Laugh-

Laughter of the whole Court, who having ſo ſmall a time to Live, could think of carrying the Infamy of ſuch a notorious piece of Flattery to his Grave.

Says D'Ablancourt, Haterius *expos'd himſelf to public Laughter, for having propos'd to Engrave their Decrees in Letters of Gold, as one that could not hope to reap the fruit of his Flattery, but the Ignominy that attended it.* But this does not come up to the ſenſe of *Tacitus*, who the better to ſet out the poor Spirit of *Haterius*, tells us, that he was an Old Man, who by Conſequence not having long to live, could expect no other, then to go to his Grave loaden with Infamy.

The ſame thing happen'd to *Tiberius*, which had befallen *Auguſtus*. When *Auguſtus* made *Tiberius* his Aſſociate in the Tribuneſhip, then thither *Cuncta Vergere*. The Flatterers began to pay their Adorations all to *Tiberius:* And ſo ſoon as *Tiberius* ſummons *Druſus* to Partnerſhip in the Dignity and Authority, every one ſtrives to adore the Riſing Sun, all the Flatterers; all the Senators like Emulous Cham-

Champions, dispute for Preheminence in Flattery, and to gain the Favour of the New Prince, generally the Prize of early Sedulicie. *Silanus* therefore, a person Illustrious for his Extraction and Elo quence, steps up, and proposes that the Public Accounts of the Years should be no longer taken from the Names of the Consuls, but from the Sovereign *Tribune ship*, little heeding that while he Honour'd *Drusus*, he Dishonour'd *Tiberius*, who having been four times Consul, receiv'd the same Affront as the rest of the Con suls, if he suffer'd a Dignity to grow into Contempt, which he himself had taken upon him, after he was Emperour. Be sides, that if the Alteration of Chrono logical Computation should Commence from no longer a Date then the Tribune ship of *Drusus*, he must be Inferiour to his Son; or at least be beholding to him for being Nam'd with Him in all Public Acts and Registers: Which is a Thing highly injurious to Majesty, that en dures neither Equality nor Dependency. And thus see how Flattery oft-times splits it self upon the Rocks of Imprudence, and becomes Affrontive where she studies most Obsequiousness. As for *Quintus Haterius*, his Flattery was so ill resented by *Tiberius*,

Tiberius, that his Propoſal was look'd upon as Extravagant. And that which render'd him moſt ridiculous, was his Old Age, that put him out of hopes of ever living to reap the Fruit of *Druſus*'s acknowledgement; ſo that there nothing more remain'd for him, but the ignominy of having been the Author of a Propoſal ſo much beneath a Perſon of his Years and Quality: for he was of an Illuſtrious Family, and moreover highly eſteem'd for his Eloquence. Whence you may obſerve by the by, that Eloquence and Flattery wonderfully ſympathize one with the other; and that it is a difficult thing to be a cunning and dextrous Flatterer without Eloquence; or to be Eloquent without Adulation. And this is that perhaps, which the younger *Pliny* means, That Eloquence is not to be learnt, without good Manners; to let us underſtand, that Eloquence is a dangerous Talent in them, who are not endu'd with a Sincerity capable to make a right uſe of it.

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ESSAY XXI.

I Think it to be the chiefeſt Duty of a Hiſtorian, to take care that Vertue be not ſmother'd, and to deter Men from evil Actions and Sayings, for fear of being branded with Ignomy to Poſterity.

In my Opinion, ſays D'Ablancourt, *'tis the Duty of a Hiſtorian, to give to Vertue the recompence which ſhe deſerves, and to beget an abhorrency of Vice, by awing Men with the ſhame of Eternal Infamy.*

It is the cuſtom of Flatterers to extol Vice, while by a wrong impreſſion of Interpretation, they make it paſs for currant Vertue; and to cry down as Crimes, the Vertues of ſuch as are hated by thoſe Princes whom they Flatter. Of all People therefore in the World are Flatterers the moſt unfit, and improper to undertake a Hiſtory, which ought to have Truth for its Guide, and for its Object the Inſtruction of Poſterity. And here we muſt not omit to give that worthily

hily deserved Character of *Monsieur Mezeray*, to be the only Modern Author, hat has honour'd *France* with a Sincere tory, and left in his Writings the lively mage of its ancient Liberty.

ESSAY. XXII.

ENnius a Roman Knight, accus'd of High Treason, because he had melted down the Princes Statue, and turn'd it into Silver Plate, *Cesar* forbad to be Registerd among the Guilty; *Aseius Capito* openly opposing him under the Pretence of Liberty, alledging that such a Hainous Crime ought never to go Unpunish'd; that he might be remiss in pard'ning Offences against himself; not be so lavish to forgive notorious Injuries done the Public.

Says D'Ablancourt, Ennius *a Roman Knight was accus'd of High Treason, for having melted a Statue of the Prince, to change it into Silver Plate for his own use. But* Tiberius *discharg'd him*; *tho'* Capito *oppos'd*

oppos'd him, crying out as if he had ſtood in defence of the Public Liberty, that it came him not to let ſo great an Offender Unpuniſh'd; that he might Pardon his but not the Injuries of the Commonwealth.

Flattery is never more wicked, when ſhe diſguiſes her ſelf in the of Liberty. *Capito* was not to learn *Tiberius* hated Flattery, and that on other ſide he was no Friend to Liber and therefore he intermixes both tog ther. *What?* ſays he, *will you let Criminal, that has thus daringly diſpla his contempt of your Perſon, by melting one of your Statues; and had this Offe been committed againſt You alone, you mig have pardon'd it, and the Senate could have oppos'd it; but ſince it is a Crime* Ennius *has committed againſt the whole public, the Puniſhment belongs to Us; it is not juſt that you ſhould be ſo mercif at the Expence of our Authority.*

Certainly no piece of Flattery could eve have out-done this Reprimand. *Capito* who was not ignorant of the cruel Tem per of *Tiberius*, would inſinuate that a the Injuries done to the Prince, ſhoul be look'd upon as done to the Common weal; to the end that under that ſpeci

us pretence, while the Senate ſatisfi'd
he Emperours Revenge, *Tiberius* might
e diſcharg'd of the *Odium* which was
ke to fall upon him, had he been Carver
or himſelf. Thus Sycophants cheriſh and
oment the Vices of Princes, and teach
m how to be Tyrants. Obſerve by the
way, that this *Capito* was a Perſon highly
earn'd in the Laws, both Human and Di-
ine, and moreover accounted one of the
hief Men in the Senate, yet all his
earning ſerv'd but to ſtain his Reputa-
ion with Eternal Reproach; conſider-
g the ill uſe which he had made of it,
s well under *Auguſtus* as under *Tiberius*.
here are always at the Elbows of Princes,
ays Commines in his Memoires, l. 1. c. 6.
me or other of the Long Robe; *a lovely*
ght, *when Vertuous*; *but dangerous*, *when*
Vicked. And in his Fifth Book, toward
he end of the Chapter, *Too much Know-*
dge corrupts the Wicked; *but the Vertuous*
re much the better for it.

ES-

ESSAY XXIII.

Labeo, an untainted Aſſerter of Liberty, and for that Reaſon of a more celebrated Reputation but *Capito*'s Obſequiouſneſs was more approv'd by thoſe that had the Sovereign Power.

Says D'Ablancourt, Labeo *more Frank and Generous, and therefore more Famous among Men, the other more Complaiſant, and better belov'd by his Prince.*

I have already ſaid, that how Vertuous ſoever Princes may be, they are unwilling however to ſuffer abſolute Liberty. Whatever their averſion may be to Flattery, yet too much Freedom is that which more offends their Ears. Majeſty is us'd accuſtom'd to Reſpect and Adoration that whatſoever is not Complaiſance or Submiſſion, proves inſupportable to it. *Auguſtus* was a mild and vertuous Prince but yet he never lov'd *Labeo*, becauſe he did not ſeem to demean himſelf as became him, like a Subject; therefore

he preferr'd *Capito*, his Competitor, tho' his inferiour in Birth, in Merit, and in Honesty, only surpassing him in Complaisance. *Labeo* was more esteem'd by all the World, and *Capito* more valu'd by his Prince. *Labeo* deserv'd the Consulship but never had it; *Capito*'s Advancement was early to the same Dignity; tho' no otherway deserv'd it then by his Cringing Obsequiousness. *Labeo*'s Humour gains a Reputation among the People, but he who strives to be a Favourite at Court, must observe the Method that *Capito* follow'd; according to the Court Maxim, That Favour acquir'd is more durably preserv'd by Complaisance, then by Courage.

ESSAY XXIV.

ADulation and Pride kept equal pace together.

Says D'Ablancourt, *Servile and Proud both together.*

Flatterers (I mean the Flatterers in Courts of Princes) are for the most part Tainted

Tainted with two ſorts of Vices, wh
ſeem however to be contrary to eac
ther; that is to ſay, Servility and Pr
They are flexible pliant, and obſequi
to their Prince, but arrogant and haug
toward their Inferiours. And this
the meaning of *Tacitus*, where he ſa
that *Mucianus* was an Intermixture
Affability, and Arrogance: And of wh
the Orator *Paſſienus* ſaid of *Caligula*, w
had been a moſt Servile Flatterer of T
rius, that there was never known a b
ter Slave nor a worſe Maſter. *Plut*
alſo records in *Sylla*'s Life, That he
ways humbled himſelf to thoſe wh
whom he had to do; but expected A
ration from thoſe that had to do wi
him; ſo that it was hard to ſay of hi
which of the two were his chiefeſt E
cellency, his Flattery, or his Pride.

ESSAY XXV.

THoſe that were too laviſh
their Flatteries, He himſe
reſtrain'd and reprov'd.

Says D'Ablancourt, *And if any ſuffer*
them

themſelves to run into high-ſtrain'd Flattery, whoſe the Prince was the firſt that repre-hended.

This was the True means to preſerve himſelf from being miſlead. For it is with many Princes, as with Women that are given to tell Stories, that their Ears are too open to the Charms of pleaſing impertinents. If Flatterers never open'd their Lips, Princes would never be miſ-guided, for Verity would take place of Untruth. For this Reaſon it was, that the prudent Senator *Helvidius*, deliver-ing his Opinion concerning the Deputies which the Senate had reſolv'd to ſend to *Veſpaſian*, to Congratulate his Advance-ment to the Empire, alledging, *That it was for the Intereſt of the Public Weal, and the Honour of the Prince, to depute the firſt time, ſuch of their Number, whoſe Lives and Converſations were free from ſtain or reproach, that they might accuſtom his Ears to whole-ſome Counſel*; *that* Thraſeas, Soranus, *and* Sentius, (who were three of the Since-reſt Perſons in the Senate) *having been Honour'd already with* Veſpaſians *Friendſhip, it behov'd 'em to be careful to let him ſee their Accuſers. That a Deputation ſo judicious would be as it were a tart Intimation which*

the

the Senate gave him of thoſe Perſons, were moſt worthy his Eſteem and Favo and likewiſe of thoſe other whom he had ſon to miſtruſt. That is to ſay, Flatt ers, and other wicked People, that b their Fortunes upon the Ruin of other

ESSAY XXVI.

THE ſame Honors were creed to the Memory of *D ſus,* as to that of *Germanicus,* t with ſeveral Additions, as the lat Adulation will be always contrivi to do.

Says D'Ablancourt, *They Decreed ſame Honours to* Druſus, *as were decreed the Memory of his Brother: But ſome Ceremonies were added, as the latter Flatt is always the moſt Ingenious.*

By the means of this ſame Novelty is, that Flatterers always ſupport the ſelves in the Favour of their Prince They would be weary of her Flatteri had Adulation but one ſtring to the tun ful Harp of their Encomiums. Th

only value those Honours that are peculiarly invented for themselves. For every Prince new Incense and Perfumes. Hence it comes to pass, that he who sits at present in the Throne, is more applauded, then all those that Reign'd before him. As Ridiculous and Stupid as the Emperor *Claudius* was, the slave to his own enfranchiz'd Bondmen, yet he fail'd not to find one Consul, who was not asham'd to propose the giving him the Title of *Father of the Senate*, alledging that *Father of his Country* was too Common; and that a Prince who blest the Empire every day with new Accumulations of his Favour, deserv'd at least to be Honour'd with a Sirname that never had been given to any of his Predecessors.

ESSAY XXVII.

THE chief Priests also when they made their Vows for the Welfare of the Prince, recommended likewise *Nero* and *Drusus* to the Gods, not so much for love of the young Men, as out of Flattery, the

Omiſſion of which as equally beget Suſpition, as the Exceſs.

The High Prieſt, ſays D'Ablancour *when they made their Vows for the Emperor recommended to the Protection of the ſam Gods*, Nero *and* Druſus, *not ſo muc through any Affection as out of Flatter the Exceſs or Omiſſion of which are equal dangerous.*

We have already aſſerted, that Fla terie is void of Love, and that by ſtrai ing at Flattery, Men often looſe the ſelves in the Mazes of Folly and Impr dence. And certainly it was a great pie of Imprudence to equal to the Perſon the Emperour, two young Stripling that were but juſt coming into the Worl Majeſty endures no Companion or Par nerſhip in Honours. When othe mount, ſhe muſt deſcend. Flattery's me cinary; and is always for him that bi moſt. *Tiberius* was now in his declini years, and *Nero* and *Druſus* in the prim of their Youth. The High Prieſts look upon the Reign of *Tiberius*, as a Reig that would be ſoon at an end; and t Fortune of *Nero*, as a Sovereignty th was ſhortly to Commence. Therefo

it was not through Affection but Intereſt, that they made ſo little a diſtinction between the two Brothers and *Tiberius*, who having loſt his Son, ſeem'd to have no more then a precarious and languiſhing Authority. And this was the meaning of *Tiberius*, when he told the Pontiffs, That he was glad to ſee Children equall'd to his Hoary Age; which was a wipe by the by, to let 'em underſtand they had been too haſty to appoint him a Succeſſor. And thus you ſee what an ill reception Flattery finds, when once it knows no bounds. But the Omiſſion of Flattery is no leſs diſpleaſing to Princes, as aſcribing the cauſe of that neglect to Haughtineſs, to Contumacy, or Contempt. And therefore it was that *Tiberius* ſo often complain'd of the Arrogance, and Indocibility of *Agrippina*, *Germanicus*'s Wife; and that under *Nero*, it was objected againſt *Thraſea*, for no leſs then High Treaſon, that he had never either applauded, or countenanc'd the Flatteries of others, and that he always abſented himſelf on purpoſe, when the Magiſtrates were to take their Oaths of Allegiance, or made any Vows for the Proſperity of the Prince: That he had never Sacrific'd in return of Thanks for

his Charming and Celeſtial Voice, that he would never acknowledg *Poppea* for a Goddeſs; that he had forborn coming to the Senate for three Years together, becauſe he would not conſent to his Decrees; to ſhew that none of his Majeſties Actions pleas'd him, though he would not declare his mind by any open Contradiction or Oppoſition. That he left the Senate one day, when they were making Speeches againſt the Memory of *Agrippina*, the Mother of *Nero*. And thus you ſee in one Man, almoſt all the ſins of Omiſſion, which a Courtier could commit in the concerns of Flattery. Moreover, there are ſome Occaſions where the Subject cannot diſpence with Flattery as others do. Such are thoſe which we call Congratulation, or Condolement. Thus had *Thraſea* been preſent when the Magiſtrates took their Oaths, had he made his Vows for the Prince, or appear'd at the Funeral of *Poppea*, it could have been no ſtain to his Reputation. And therefore it does not become a Subject to be too ſtiff neither; but on the other ſide to comply with the Times and Humours of the Prince, as much as it is poſſible, more eſpecially ſo far as the Rules of good Breeding and Civility extend.

Thus

Thus the younger *Pliny* being design'd Consul, refus'd to decree new honours to *Trajan*, as the Consuls Elect had wont to do to other Princes. *But*, said he, *I did not abstain from this same outward Appearance of Flattery, through any motive of Liberty infring'd, or of Constancy, but because I was assur'd of the Moderation of my Prince, therefore believing it would be much more to his Honour, for me to refuse the making any such Decree; altho' so just a Duty could not be tax'd of Flattery.* Those Grandees and other Persons who are oblig'd to live at Court, can never learn a better Lesson then this, to preserve themselves in their several Stations. 'Twere well, there were no Flatterers at all; but there is no need of such remarkable Demonstrations to prove Men are not so; in regard it shews like a piece of Contumacy and Mutinous Insurrection against the Majesty of a Prince. So that *Seneca* spoke rather like a Philosopher that contemn'd death, then a Courtier when he answer'd the Tribune whom *Nero* sent, to bring back his Justification, that he was not of a humour to Flatter, as no body better knew then *Nero* himself, who had had more frequent Experience of *Seneca*'s freedom then his Complaisance.

ESSAY XXVIII.

IN the Senate he gave a ſevere charge in a ſet Speech, that no Man for the future ſhould attempt to Elevate the fluctuating and unſteady Minds of the Young Men with over haſty Honours.

In the Diſcourſe which he made to the Senate, ſays D'Ablancourt, *he gave a ſtrict Caution, that no Man ſhould ſwell the Volatile Minds of the Young Men with Honours above their Age.*

This Admonition concerns the Governours and Tutors of young Princes, for whom there is nothing ſo neceſſary as theſe Leſſons of Moderation and Modeſty. The Children of Princes know too ſoon that they are Princes, and by conſequence that they are born to Command over Men, tho' ſometimes they learn too late that they are but Men themſelves. They are told upon every occaſion, that all belongs to them; but the ſame Inſtructors at the ſame time forget to tell 'em like-

likewiſe, that their Perſons belong to the Commonweal; that all their Time belongs to the Public; that the Burthen which they are one day to undergo, is very troubleſome and painful; and beſides that, extremely ſubject to the accidents of Fortune; that the Higher they are Advanc'd, the greater is the danger of their Fall; that they will never be belov'd, unleſs they love Reciprocally; for Love it ſelf is Maſterleſs, that to be belov'd of God, it behoves 'em to be belov'd of Men; that Flatterers miſlead 'em, if they liſten to their Charms; that when they are Flatter'd, 'tis not their Perſons, but their Fortune that is fawn'd upon; ſince no Flatterer can be capable of ſincere and real Love. That Princes can never know all things, nor bear the whole burthen of their Sovereign Employment, and therefore for the good of the Kingdom, and their own Honour, they ought to make choice of able and faithful Miniſters, to aſſiſt 'em with their Counſels and their Induſtry; Dominion and Abſolute Power, which commands all other Things, not having any more to deſire, then their dextrous and truly Loyal Aſſiſtance. And laſtly, That the ſafeſt and ſhorteſt Expedient to Reign

well, is for a Prince to propose to himself, as the Rule and Ballance of all his Actions to be no other then he would wish a Prince to be, were he a Subject.

ESSAY. XXIX.

Varro the Consul gratifi'd the hatred of *Sejanus*, by the loss of his own Reputation.

The Consul Varro, says D'Ablancourt, *became his own Informer, and was not asham'd to sacrifice his own hand to the Interests of* Sejanus.

Flatterers are always no less Servile then Cruel: And seeing they Sacrifice so willingly their Honour to Favour, 'tis no wonder we are so easily induc'd to sacrifice to the Interrest of Topping Favorites, the Objects of their Hatred. *If the Favourite*, says Commines, *would lay an Imposition of a Penny, they cry two. If the Prince do but threaten a Man, they cry, let him be Hang'd. And be sure Sir, to render your self formidable; and for themselves, their Deportment and their Frowns*

Frowns diſcover nothing but Pride and Severity, as if Authority and Power were their Inheritance. Obſerve by the way, that *Tacitus* when he mentions Flattery, frequently aſſociates with it *Calumny*, which is indeed one of the moſt uſual means, that Flatterers make uſe of to the Ruine of others.

ESSAY XXX.

Lepidus for the moſt part, deviated for the better, from the ſevere Adulations of others; and yet he carry'd himſelf ſo exactly poys'd that he flouriſh'd under *Tiberius* with an equal ſhare of Authority and his Princes Favour. So that I am conſtrain'd to doubt whither the Inclination of Princes to ſome, and their Averſion to others, be not guided as many other things are by fate and the ruling Conſtellations at our Birth: And whither it be in our power to walk in a Path free from Ambition and Dan-

between untractable Contumacy, and deformed Servility.

Says D'Ablancourt, *Many times he allay'd the over-rigorous advice of others, not failing nevertheless in his Respect to his Prince, and by that means preserv'd two things most difficult to be preserv'd; the Honour of his Employment, and his Majesties Favour. Which makes me frequently doubt whither the Favour of Great Men, and their Hatred, be not rather the effects of Destiny, and the Stars that governour Nativities, as are all other Accidents that happen in the World, then of Human Prudence, that so much pretends to have a share therein.*

The Moderation of *Lepidus*, is a remarkable Testimony, that there may be some great Personages, impenetrable to Flattery and Injustice under the Dominion even of the most wicked Princes, and that there never was any Age so barren of Vertuous Courage, but has offer'd us Examples of such a noble Generosity. Prudence understands to choose out such a way that leads neither to the Precipice of Liberty, nor the Abyss of Servitude. She is neither *Libertine* nor *Slave*, but observes an equal Temper, so as neither to

to be offenſive to Majeſty nor Juſtice. She gives to *Cæſar*, that which belongs to *Cæſar*; that is to ſay, Obedience and Duty: To God, that which is Gods, or whatever is required by a ſincere Conſcience. If at any time ſhe Flatters, (for ſhe cannot always avoid it) ſhe makes uſe of ſuch a ſort of Flattery, that rather informs then miſleads the Prince, and ſerves as an Incitement to provoke him to ſome Generous Act, which otherwiſe perhaps he might not think of. For example, *Lepidus* to ſave the Life of *Lutorius Priſcus*, whom *Haterius Agrippa* had ſentenc'd to Death, for a certain Elegie made upon *Druſus*, makes it his buſineſs to applaud the Moderation of *Tiberius*; telling him, *That after he had ſeveral times heard him complain of thoſe that had prevented his Clemency, he could not believe ſo juſt a Prince would ever confirm ſo rigorous a Sentence.* In ſhort, when *Tiberius*, (who was then in the Country) underſtood that *Druſus* was Executed, he blam'd the Senate, tho' the Reprimand were very gentle, and commended the Prudence of *Lepidus*, tho' on the other ſide, he did not rebuke *Agrippa* for his ſeverity. Now it is certain, that if *Priſcus* had been repriev'd, *Tiberius* would never

never have taken away his Life, *Lepidus* ſo well underſtood to make him ſenſible of Honour.

In *Nero*'s time, the Preſident was quite the contrary. For the *Prctor*, *Antiſtius*, who had made a bloody Lampoon againſt him, was ſav'd by *Thraſea*, who after he had ſpoken of *Nero*, as it is Cuſtomary to ſpeak of a good Prince, and had bitterly enveigh'd againſt the Inſolence of the *Pretor*, further added that the cruelty of preceding Reigns was out of date; that without putting the Criminal to thoſe Torments which he deſerv'd, he might be Puniſh'd in ſuch a manner, that he ſhould have no reaſon to object againſt his Judges; and laſtly, That his Life would be a ſolemn Teſtimonial of Public Clemency. This Advice was no leſs prudent nor leſs reſpectful, then that of *Lepidus*; but it was as ill receiv'd by *Nero*, as the other was well receiv'd by *Tiberius*. *Thraſea* incurr'd the Hatred of *Nero*, and in a few years after loſt his Life, for having ſav'd *Antiſtius*, whom the Prince would fain have put to death. *Tiberius* and *Nero*, reſembl'd each other in Cruelty; *Lepidus* and *Thraſea* were Competitors in Vertue, *Priſcus* and *Antiſtius* equall'd each other in Arrogance and

and Sawcineſs; for the one had the vanity to repeat his Elegy to a company of Ladies, and the other to read his Lampoon at a Public Feaſt. *Thraſea* pleaded for *Antiſtius*, as *Lepidus* had done for *Priſcus*; and yet that which made for *Lepidus*'s Honour, turn'd to the perdition of *Thraſea*. And thus you ſee the different effects of that Fatality, which *Tacitus* attributes to that ſame natural Inclination which Princes have for ſome, and that natural Antipathy which they have for others. But if we more narrowly pry into the real Character of *Lepidus*, and *Thraſea*'s *Genius*, we ſhall eaſily perceive, that tho' they were both highly Prudent, and equally averſe to Flattery, yet there was a Remarkable difference between 'em; for aſſur'dly, *Lepidus* was the more prudent of the two. *Lepidus* was Feaſible and Complaiſant, yet without any thing of low-ſpirited Meanneſs, or abject Condeſcention: *Thraſea* prided himſelf altogether in his Stedfaſtneſs and Conſtancy. *Lepidus* ſhap'd himſelf according to the Times he was born in, and the Humour of the Reigning Prince, as it is the duty of every good Subject ſo to do. *Thraſea* was a little too obſtinate and hardy in what he thought Juſt and Rea-

Reaſonable, which occaſion'd that ſaying of *Nero*, That he wiſh'd *Thraſea* lov'd but him, as well as he did Juſtice. The latter was the better Man, the other the better Subject. By which Parallel it is apparent, that Prudence has a great ſhare in the Conduct of Human Affairs, and that the Favour and Averſion of Princes, are not always the Effects of their Fancies.

ESSAY XXXI.

SOme things he had added more Contumaciouſly, then ſafe to be gather'd in by haughty Ears, and prone to be Captious.

Says D'Ablancourt, Serenus *had reproach'd his Ingratitude, in terms more Inſolent then the nice and tender Ears of a Prince could endure.*

The Ears of Princes are not accuſtom'd to the rude touches of Inſolence and Expoſtulation. When we ſpeak to Princes, (ſaid one of the Ancients) we muſt make choice of words either all Silken, or all Honey;

Honey; that is to say, our Language must be temper'd with Modesty, Prudence, and Submission. The Contumacy of Inferiours, causes the Superiours to lay aside his Clemency. Let a Subject have never so just reason to complain, he is not however allow'd to do it Arrogantly; for Submission and Respect are claims and rights never to be alienated from Majesty: There remains to the Subject nothing but the honour of Obedience. He that upbraids him with his Services, destroys the Fortune and Grandeur of a Prince; and generally such Reproaches are the fore-runners of Rebellion. And therefore upon this Foundation it was, that the Accusation was grounded, design'd against *Serenus* by his Son, that he had Conspir'd against *Tiberius*, and sent Incendiaries into *Gallia*, to kindle a War in that Province. Lastly, It better becomes a Subject to be a Flatterer, then to be too lavish of his Tongue, when he speaks to his Prince: But if he can avoid it, 'tis better for him to be neither the one, nor the other.

ESSAY XXXII.

NEither is it ſuch a Myſterie to underſtand, when the Actions of Princes are truly and really Congratulated, and when with a Fictitious Joy.

'Tis no great Difficulty, ſays D'Ablancourt, *for great Perſonages to diſcover, when the Praiſes which are given 'em proceed from Flattery, and when from a real ſentiment of Affection.*

Politic Princes are not eaſily to be deluded by Flattery, for they conſult not their Ears, but their Hearts, which are ſufficiently Conſcious, whether or no they merit thoſe Praiſes that are beſtow'd upon 'em. They underſtand by what their Flatterers ſay, the undiſclos'd conceptions of their Hearts; well knowing, that when ſuch People make their Addreſſes to their Perſons, 'tis their Fortunes that they Court; a Truth that never deceives 'em, when ever they put it to the Tryal. Real Encomiums are moſt delight-

delightful to their Ears, becauſe they are apt to believe they Merit what is given 'em; but falſe Applauſes are diſtaſtful, becauſe they look upon 'em as By-reproaches of their Defaults. The younger *Pliny* reports, that *Trajan* wept for joy, and bluſh'd to hear himſelf call'd, *The Truly Vertuous*, becauſe he knew it was to *Trajan* that they ſpoke, and not the Emperour. And afterwards he adds, That he was not afraid leaſt *Trajan* ſhould think, that while he diſcours'd of the Mildneſs, the Frugality, the Munificence, the Clemency, and Vigilancy of a Prince, he had any deſign to upbraid thoſe Vices, which were their Oppoſites.

ESSAY XXXIII.

THE Fathers decreed the Books to be Burnt, but they were not all found; ſome being hid up, and Publiſh'd afterwards. Which gives us an occaſion to deride the Simplicity of thoſe People, who think that the Memorials of Poſterity can be ſtiff'd by preſent Dominion. For no

on the other ſide, the Authority of Puniſh'd Ingenuities encreaſes, and Princes who have made uſe of that Severity, have only purchas'd Diſhonour to themſelves, and enhaunc'd the Glory of the Authors ſuppreſs'd.

Says D'Ablancourt, *The purport of the Decree was this, That the Books ſhould be Burnt, but they were privately preſerv'd, (he leaves out* and afterwards publiſh'd, *which is that which both* Tacitus *and* Suetonius *ſeem to have inſerted for particular Obſervation) which makes me laugh at their Impertinency, who think by vertue of a ſoon Expiring Power, to extinguiſh the Memorials of Future Ages. For on the other ſide, Puniſhment enlivens their works with new Authority, and all thoſe Princes who have made tryal of that ſame Artifice, have only augmented their own Diſgrace, and the Glory of their Enemy.*

Flattery and Hiſtory could never well agree together, for the one is wholly devoted to Falſhood, the other to Truth. The one deludes, the other informs and diſabuſes Princes. *Sejanus* order'd *Cordus* to be accus'd for having applauded *Brutus* in

in his Annals, and call'd *Caſſius*, the *Laſt of the Romans*. And this waslook'd upon as but newly imputed for a Crime, the rather for that all the preceding Hiſtorians, and among the reſt, *Livie* and *Pollio*, had mention'd them with Honour; and for that *Auguſtus* himſelf, by whom they were Vanquiſh'd, had always had ſuch a Veneration for their Memory, that he never remov'd their Images. Beſides that, but three Years before, *Tiberius* himſelf, had permitted the Funeral Rites of *Junia*, Siſter to *Brutus*, the Wife of *Caſſius*, and *Cato*'s Neece, to be Solemniz'd with all the Ceremonies that appertain'd to her Illuſtrious Birth. Nevertheleſs, the Senate, to pleaſe *Sejanus*, condemn'd both *Cordus* and his Hiſtory, the purport of which was, that the laſt of the *Romans* was dead, and that at *Rome* there remain'd alive no other then ſuch as ſacrific'd all to Favour. For here the Senate gave the Appellation of Parricides and Robbers to two Men, whom Hiſtory had celebrated for Illuſtrious and Famous Perſonages. So that *Cordus*'s only Crime was this, That he had ſpoken like a faithful Hiſtorian, and that he was adjudg'd capable, to Write with the ſame Liberty, the Reign of *Tiberius*, who after

after the death of *Druſus*, began to grow worſe and worſe; and to diſplay the Actions of *Sejanus*, who ſo inſolently abus'd his Favour. Great Favourites infinitly delude themſelves, when they think their Reputation ſhelter'd by the ſuppreſſion of Books, that diſcover their Miſcarriages. For to burn Books, is but to kindle in others a Curioſity to read 'em, whereas the taking little or no notice at all of 'em, renders 'em leſs priz'd by thoſe that have already read 'em, and cures that Itch in others, to be prying into a ſubject little regarded. 'Tis an eaſie thing for Men in Power to be reveng'd upon Hiſtorians, whoſe Lives are in their Hands, but their Authority will not prevail againſt the Hiſtory, which is Immortal, and will devolve it ſelf to the Judgment of Permanent Poſterity. 'Twas very cunningly done, ſays *Tacitus*, to burn the Writings of *Ruſticus Arulenus*, and *Seneca* as if that Fire could ſtifle the Voice of the Roman People, the Liberty of the Senate, and the Memory of Mankind. *Poſterity*, ſays Cordus, *renders to every one their due, and they who will remember* Brutus *and* Caſſius, *will not fail to remember me as well.* Meaning, that Poſterity would honour his Memory, as it had honour'd the Memory of thoſe great Men.

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ESSAY XXXIV.

AND the Honour of *Auguſtus* will vaniſh, when prophan'd with promiſcuous Adorations.

Says D'Ablancourt, *For this would be to leſſen the Honour of* Auguſtus, *to Communicate it to every Body without Diſtinction.*

Princes deſpiſe thoſe Honours that are common to others, eſteeming only thoſe that are new and only invented for themſelves. They are likewiſe for the moſt part jealous of their Honour, that they hardly will admit an equality of Compariſon with their Predeceſſors, how Illuſtrious ſoever they were. *Flattery*, ſaid Pliny to Trajan, *has ſo drain'd the Fountain of Encomiums, that we have not any remaining more, that are new, to give Thee. The only Honour which we can pretend to pay Thee is, not to decree Thee any; ſo well aſſur'd we are of thy Modeſty and Baſhfulneſs.* A Commendation worthy the Prince who receiv'd it, and the Subject that Addreſs'd it. And therefore Cardinal *Richlieu*, tho' he

he lov'd Applauſe, yet would not accept of *Balzac*'s Praiſes, alledging, 'Twas no Honour to be extoll'd by a Perſon that equally prais'd all Men alike; ſo prone that Authour was to *Hyperboles*.

ESSAY. XXXV.

THrough the Benevolence of *Auguſtus* ratifi'd by *Tiberius* himſelf, it has been the cuſtom, that the Supplicant, e'er he put up his Prayers and Wiſhes to the Gods, ſhould firſt addreſs them to his Prince's Ears.

Says D'Ablancourt, *The purport of his Letter was, That his Obligation was ſuch to the Memory of* Auguſtus, *and to the Teſtimonies of* Tiberius's *Affections, that he addreſs'd his Prayers rather to the Emperour then the Gods.*

This Language well befits the Flatterers at Court, who adore no other Deity but Fortune. This is a Theme ſo plain, it needs no Commentary: Beſides

ſides that, my deſign is only to Inform, and not to Offend.

ESSAY XXXVI.

Tiberius heard the Opprobrious Language with which his Reputation was wounded, and was ſo deeply concern'd, that he cried out, he would immediately clear himſelf, and ſtand a Tryal. Nor could the Perſuaſions of neareſt Relations, or the Flatteries of all his Followers compoſe his Mind, but with Elaborate Importunity.

Says D'Ablancourt, Tiberius *heard the Defamations that were thrown upon him, and cry'd out in a great Fury, that he would at the ſame inſtant clear himſelf of thoſe Calumnies; ſo that it was a difficult task of the Senate, and all his Friends together, to appeaſe him with all their Flatteries and Prayers.*

Flattery is never ſo ſeaſonable, nor runs to that exceſs, as when the Prince is

is wounded in his Honour. *Tiberius* had receiv'd a Bloody Affront. For a certain Officer in the Army, coming in as an Evidence againſt one *Montanus*, who had uter'd hainous Language againſt the Emperour, in a full Senate repeated the Words as they were ſpoken, to add the more weight to his Teſtimony; and the more the Senators ſhew'd their unwillingneſs to underſtand him, as deteſting his Impudence, the more obſtinate the Officer was to make good his Accuſation. So that conſidering *Tiberius*'s humour, a Prince ſo politic and dextrous in concealing his Vices, and deſigning 'em into Vertues, it was no wonder he ſhould be more enrag'd againſt the Teſtimony, then againſt the Perſon accus'd. And this was that which oblig'd him to proteſt with ſo much Violence, and be ſo earneſt to clear himſelf of what was laid to his Charge.

Now when a Prince goes about to inſiſt upon his Juſtification, eſpecially when the Imputation from which he thinks to clear himſelf is true, and known to all the World, then it is, that Flattery becomes moſt pleaſing to him; and that he is overjoy'd when they tell them, that he has no need to purge himſelf from Scandals

dals and Reproaches which no Body believes; that it redounds to his Honour to be hated by Wicked and Vicious People; that it is peculiar to Princes to do well; and for Subjects to talk Maliciously and Scandalously of Princes. Moreover, as Flattery is always excessive toward bad Princes, as being fear'd and dreaded most of all; so are Scandal and Obloquie most outragious, when they believe themselves most secure; that is to say, when Men are venting their disgusts among their Intimate and most Familiar Acquaintance, where every one discovers the very bottom of his Heart. So that it is the most certain Mark of a good Prince, when his Subjects discourse of him in their Private Houses and Retirements, as he is cry'd up at Court. And this it was which the younger *Pliny* intended, when speaking to *Trajan*. *This day*, said he, *it is, that we have just reason to complain, that our secret discourses are not spy'd and observ'd but by Princes which hate us: For if good Princes were so Inquisitive as the bad, what a pleasure would it be to Thee, to hear what we discourse of Thee in our private Dwellings, to our Wives, our Children, and our Servants? Then thou would'st know the full extent of our Love*

and Admiration of thy Vertues, and how we power forth our Prayers continually for thy long and prosperous Reign. Then, tho' Love and Hatred are perfect Contraries, thou wouldst understand, that in our Houses there is so far a kind of Reconciliation between those opposite Passions, that we adore and reverence Vertuous Princes with the same excess of Cordial Affection, as with detestation we abominate unruly Tyranny.

ESSAY XXXVII.

WHen the Conflagration had consum'd all things round about it, the Effigies of *Tiberius* only remain'd untouch'd: So that the *Claudii* were look'd upon as peculiarly favour'd by the Gods, and there was a farther addition of Reverence and Adoration to the Place, wherein the Gods had shew'n so high an Honour to the Prince.

Says D'Ablancourt, *It was a Remarkable Testimony that the Claudian Family was Sacred and Favour'd by the Gods, and that the Place*

Place deserv'd a particular Reverence where they had shew'd a Miracle so particular in favour of the Prince.

Flatterers conster all things to the Princes Honour, and cry up for Testimonials of their Vertue, these Accidents which are the effect of Chance and Hazard only. They never mind, that Flattery becomes Ridiculous, unless it be such as is pleasing to the Prince. And such was this same Adulation of the Senate, upon this occasion; for that *Tiberius* had a custom to appropriate Honours to himself from all Accidents, that would bear a favourable Construction. On the other side, he could not chuse but be highly satisfi'd, to see the Senate make a Construction so different from that of the People, who laid the Fire to his Charge, and all the other Calamities that had befallen the City, as having left it a little before, in spight of the unlucky Signs and Omens that appear'd upon the *Augur*'s Consultations. The good Fortune of Princes, many times supplys the place of Merit; for Men have always a high Opinion of their Worth, so long as they are happy. Let the Accidents that happen, be ne're so meerly Casual, they

are taken for assur'd Omens of their Grandeur, and are of great importance to improve that Veneration which Men pretend to be their due.

ESSAY XXXVIII.

NEither was it the Care of the Senate, to prevent loss of Honour upon the Frontiers of the Empire. An inward Consternation had possess'd their Spirits, for which the only remedy they could provide was Flattery. So that altho' they had several Affairs of higher Importance that requir'd their Debates, they decreed an Altar to *Clemency*, another to *Friendship*, and Statues to *Cæsar* and *Sejanus* round about.

Says D'Ablancourt, *The Senate troubled and amus'd with inward fears, neglected the Frontiers of the Empire; and to shelter themselves under some signal piece of Flattery, never minding those more Important Affairs which they had under their Consideration*

ration, decreed Altars to Clemency and Friendſhip, and Statues to the Emperour and Sejanus.

Under evil Princes the Grandees take little Care of the Public Misfortunes, as being ſolely imploy'd to ſecure themſelves. The more in fear Men are, the more they abandon themſelves to Flattery. Eſpecially thoſe Perſons that live at Court, or elſe have high Employments to loſe; in regard their Advancement, expoſes them to greater Dangers then others. And then again, when a Prince diſſembles the bad Condition of his Affairs, then it is that he is Flatter'd moſt of all; every one affecting to ſhew his abſolute reliance upon the Fortune and the Prudence of his Prince.

ESSAY. XXXIX.

BUT as for *Junius Gallio*, who had decreed that the *Pretorian* Soldiers having ſerv'd out their full time, might have the Priviledge to place themſelves in the Amphitheatre upon the firſt Fourteen Benches among the Knights, he chid him ſeverely. Such was the Reward that *Gallio* had for his premeditated piece of Adulation, to be Expell'd the Senate.

Junius Gallio, ſays D'Ablancourt, *was ſeverely handl'd, for having propos'd, that the Soldiers of the Guard, might ſit upon the Fourteen firſt Rows of Benches in the Theatre, after they had ſerv'd their time in the Wars.*——— *And* Gallio, *for the Reward of his premeditated Flattery, was Ejected out of the Senate.*

He that Flatters, ought to underſtand the nice Temper of the Perſon to whom he makes his Addreſſes; for otherwiſe he

he loſes his Aim, while contrary to his Expectation, his Flattery becomes offenſive. *Gallio* thought he had highly oblig'd *Tiberius*, in decreeing a new Honour to the Soldiers of the Pretorian Guards. But *Tiberius* was offended, that he ſhould take upon him to meddle with rewarding the Soldiers. *What has* Gallio *to do*, ſaid he, in his Anſwer to the Senate, *with the Priviledges of the Pretorian Soldiers? who being under the Command of none, but only the Emperour, ought not to have their dependance but upon him alone? Does he believe he has found out an Expedient which* Auguſtus *never dream't of? Rather may it not be thought that this ſame Creature of* Sejanus, *ſought to bring an Innovation into Military Diſcipline, on purpoſe to prepare the Soldiers for Rebellion?* Theſe Expreſſions of *Tiberius* demonſtrate, that he had reaſon to be offended with a Propoſal, which perhaps a Prince leſs Politic then he, would have taken for an Honour. For had the Soldiers of the Guards obtain'd this Priviledge to ſit equal with the Roman Knights, they had been beholding for their Honour only to the Senate. To which we may add, that ſuch an Honour would have rather ſerv'd to

ſwell their Pride, then encreaſe their Affections to their Prince.

ESSAY XL.

Lucius Piſo, chief Pontiff, di'd in his Bed about this time; (which was rare for a Man ſo eminent in Dignity) a Perſon who willingly never utter'd an expreſſion that ſavour'd of Servility; or if neceſſity conſtrain'd him, temper'd his words with Prudence and Sobriety.

Says D'Ablancourt, *The Pontiff*, Lucius Piſo, *di'd a Natural Death, which was a rare thing at that time, conſidering his high Reputation. A Perſon that never propounded any Advice that misbecame the Dignity of his Employment; and when he was conſtrain'd to approve the Flatteries of others, would be always ſure to moderate their high flown Exceſſes.*

A Man may both preſerve his Life, and his Dignity, yet neither be a Slave nor a Flatterer, as is apparent from the Example

ample of *Piſo*, who liv'd Fourſcore Years, and yet neither loſt his Employment, nor ſuffer'd in his Reputation either under *Auguſtus*, or *Tiberius*, by whom he was always highly eſteem'd. But who expects the ſame good Fortune, muſt take the ſame Courſe. *Tacitus* ſays, that he never miſcarry'd in any ſervile piece of Flattery: But he adds, that ſometimes he ſurrendr'd to the Flatteries of others upon ſome occaſions. To teach Great Men to comply with the Experiencies of Seaſons and Buſineſs. Generoſity is a Vertue that becomes 'em, however they muſt be careful, leaſt it degenerate into Obſtinacy and Raſhneſs: For as *Pliny* ſays, Neceſſity is a part of Reaſon. Had *Piſo* always oppos'd his Collegues, he had never been in a condition by the preſervation of his Authority, to have allay'd their Heats; becauſe they would have concerted together, to thwart his Counſels: Whereas they many times gave way to him, as he ſometimes ſubmitted to them.

ESSAY XLI.

FRom whence *Vitellius* returning to *Rome*, partly for fear of *Caius Ceſar*, and partly through his intimate Familiarity with *Claudius*, he abandon'd himſelf to ſuch a degree of Abject Slavery, that he became an Exemplar to Poſterity of Obſequious Infamy.

Says D'Ablancourt, *At his Return debauch'd by his dread of* Caius, *and the Favours of* Claudius, *he only ſerv'd to Poſterity an example of Ignominious Servitude.*

Fear and Favour are commonly the Original Sources of Flattery. He that ſtands in fear of his Life, Flatters to preſerve it; and he that is warm in the Favour of his Prince, betakes himſelf to Adulation, that he may not loſe it. And thus, were it not for Self-intereſt, there would be no Flattery.

ES-

ESSAY XLII.

THey that dwelt by the River, brought news that *Euphrates*, in a ſeaſon free from Rain, or any immoderate Showres, was ſwell'd to an unuſual and prodigious height; and carry'd a Foam that curl'd upon the Water in white Circles like ſo many Diadems; from whence they gather'd a proſperous Omen, to encourage his croſſing the Stream with his Army.

They brought News, ſays D'Ablancourt, *that the River* Euphrates *was ſwell'd, and yet no Showres had fallen, and ſeem'd to curle its Waters in the ſhape of a Diadem. Some took this for a happy Omen*, &c.

Flattery interprets all things to the Advantage of Princes, and particularly at the beginning of their Reigns. For then it is, that ſhe feeds their Humours with vain hopes; and that all People who make

make their approaches to the New Sovereign, are equally contending to excel each other in quaintneſs of Addreſſes. Nor is it enough for Princes to be deluded by their Flatterers, *Aſtrologie*, the ancient Companion of Falſhood, intrudes for a ſhare, and then chiefly ſucceeds in her Deſigns, when ſhe meets with an eaſineſs in the Prince, to believe the greateſt Uncertainties in the World. There is not any Prince, to whom, at his firſt coming to the Crown, ſhe does not pretend, but that he ſhall be more happy then *Auguſtus*, and that he ſhall Live till he is grown weary of his Grandeur. But the moſt numerous part of Princes are deceiv'd by theſe vain Calculations, and reap no other Fruit of their Credulity, then the Misfortunes of their unwary Confidence.

ESSAY XLIII.

AND labours by Obloquie to be inform'd of the Truth, to which Adulation is an Enemy.

D'Ablancourt *has omitted this Expreſſion.*

This

This is a Maxim, of which if Princes and great Men were fully convinc'd, they would never be so ready to hearken to their Flatterers, or at least to credit their Flatteries, who make it their only business to disguise and conceal from their Knowledge, the real certainty of Things that most concern 'em.

ESSAY XLIV.

BUT the *Seleusences* were they, who outdid the rest in Flattery. —They loaded *Tiridates* not only with the Honours of their Ancient Kings, but with all the profuse and quaint Additions of later Ages.

Says D'Ablancourt, Seleucia *surpass'd all the other Cities in Magnificence.* ——— Tiridates *was receiv'd with Honours of all sorts. He leaves out,* That *Seleucia* added modern Adulation to their Ancient Honours; *wherein consists the stress of the Sentence.*

The latest Flattery is always the most Ingenious: And this same charming Novelty

velty it is, by which ſhe gains and encroaches upon the Favour and Affection of Princes, that nauſeate vulgar Honours worn threadbare by Cuſtome. *Seleucia*, tho' ſhe were then a free Republic, would needs be ſo Obſequious, as to ſurpaſs in Servitude all the other Cities through which *Tiridates* had March'd. Such is the eager deſire that Subjects have to Gratifie a new Prince, not ſo much out of any love to his Perſon, as the Novelty of the Government.

ESSAY XLV.

BUT upon *Artabanus* they powr'd forth all their Scorn and Contempt, of the Race of the *Arſacidæ* by the Mothers ſide, and otherwiſe Degenerate and Mean.

Says D'Ablancourt, *They publicly diſpas'd the glory of his Enemy. For they upbraided* Artabanus, *that he had nothing in him of the Blood of the* Arſacidæ, *tho' he were deſcended from 'em by his Mothers ſide.* It is a Cotnradiction to ſay, *That he had nothing in him of the Royal Blood of the* Arſacidæ,

cidæ, *and yet allow his Mother to be a Branch of the ſame Family; and therefore, what* Tacitus *affirms, ſhould* D'Ablancourt *have alſo ſaid, that he was of the Ancient Family of the* Arſacidæ *by his Mothers ſide, however he came to Degenerate in other things.*

They diſpis'd *Artabanus*, to heap the greater Honour upon *Tiridates*, who was bred up from his Infancy in all the Effeminacy and Softneſs of Roman Education. Whereas *Artabanus* ſetting aſide his Cruelty, was a Heroic Prince, who had put a happy and ſucceſsful end to ſeveral Wars with his Neighbours. A proof ſufficient of the Impertinency of Flattery, that leſſens and ecclipſes the Glory of ſo great and famous a Name, to advance the honour of weak and ſloathful Effeminacy.

ESSAY. XLVI.

THen *Vitellius*, with Tears in his Eyes, alledging the antiquity of the Friendſhip contracted between 'em, repeating in the next place the good Services which *Aſiaticus* had don

done the Commonweal, and his late Expedition againſt *Brittain*, or whatever elſe ſeem'd proper to raiſe Compaſſion, beſought his Judges that he might have leave to chooſe his Death; and he was ſeconded by *Claudius*, who mov'd for the ſame Clemency.

Says D'Ablancourt, Vitellius *in few words related the firſt beginning of their Friendſhip, and running over curſorily all the paſt Services which* Aſiaticus *had done the Public, and particularly mentioning his laſt Enterpriſe againſt* Brittain, *he propos'd to permit him to make choice of his own Death; to which the Emperour conſented, as a particular favour done him. Which latter words paſs by the Ironie of* Tacitus, *who tells ye, that* Claudius *interceded for the ſame Clemency.*

I have already obſerv'd, that all Flatterers are naturally Cruel; nor need we a clearer Example, then this of *Vitellius*, to prove this Aſſertion. *Meſſalina*, the Emperour *Claudius*'s Wife, caus'd *Aſiaticus* to be accus'd of ſeveral Crimes againſt the State, thirſting after his Life, and

and his delicious Gardens. *Claudius* conſulted *Vitellius*, *Meſſalina*'s confident, and it may be, one of her Adulterers alſo: *Vitellius* therefore, that he might not loſe her Favour, betrays his old Friend, and throws away his Life, under a pretended Mitigation of his Puniſhment. And thus you ſee the Truſt of Courtiers Friendſhip. Their Love and Friendſhip without Heſitation plie to Intereſt. They readily beſtow their Praiſes, and undermine your Life at the ſame time: They utter Clemency with their Lips, but Cruelty is in their Hearts.

ESSAY XLVII.

Vitellius voted a Remuneration of Five and twenty thouſand Crowns to be given *Soſibius*, for inſtructing *Britanicus* with his Precepts, and the Emperour with his Counſel.

Soſibius, *ſays* D'Ablancourt, *had a reward of Five and twenty thouſand Crowns, by the Advice of* Vitellius, *under pretence of the good Services which he did the Emperour*

perour and his Son, by assisting the one with his Precepts, and the other with his Counsels.

Sosibius, Tutor to *Britanicus* the Son of *Claudius*, was made use of as an Evidence against *Asiaticus*; and for this piece of of Service it was, that *Vitellius* would needs vote him a Reward so considerable, under the fair and specious pretence of Merit and Desert. And thus it is, that Flattery adorns and beautifies deformed Villany, with honourable and graceful Titles. *Vitellius* calls that *Counsel*, to which Men of Vertue and Integrity, would have given the Appellation of Tyranny. *Sosibius* had told the Emperour, that the excessive Riches of private Persons many times prov'd fatal to Princes, on purpose to provoke him to a suspition of *Asiaticus*'s Wealth, and a seisure of his Estate; which being once design'd by *Messalina*, the officious Pedagogue was no less diligent to appear as a Witness against the Innocent Gentleman, whose Crimes were ready multiply'd to take away his Life. Certainly, if the Instruction which he gave *Britanicus*, were answerable to the Maxims which he

lie inſtill'd into the Father, he was a dangerous Tutor for a young Prince.

ESSAY XLVIII.

BUT *Claudius* reprov'd the Conſul, as urging his Flatteries a little too high.

Says D'Ablancourt, A little too conciſe, *The Emperour reprov'd the Conſul for his Flattery.*

Princes have as great an Antipathy againſt thoſe that Flatter too openly and exceſſively, as againſt thoſe that are too ſparing of their Reſpect: For the former ſeem to have a mean opinion of their Parts, and the latter of their Actions. Of their Parts, as if they thought their Prince not able to diſcern the Vanity of ſuch Hyperboles. Of their Actions, becauſe a Prince may well believe, that they who vouchſafe 'em a kind Commendation, either can find out nothing worth their Applauſe, or elſe diſcover much that deſerves Reproof and Cenſure. Witneſs that Senator *Thraſea*, whoſe ſilence was laid

laid to his Charge by his Accuſers, as a ſufficient mark of his diſlike of the Princes Government.

ESSAY XLIX.

THerefore *Vitellius* covering his Servile Fallacies with the name of *Cenſor*, and foreſeeing a new Torrent of Uſurpation ready to ſupplant the true Succeſſour, that he might purchaſe the good opinion of *Agrippina*, began betimes to intregue himſelf in her Deſigns.

Says D'Ablancourt, Vitellius *to gain the good will of* Agrippina, *who, as he ſaw was mounting into Favour. But he leaves out the words* (Ingruentium Dominationum proviſor) *by which* Tacitus *intended to ſhew that* Vitellius *foreſaw that* Agrippina *would labour to ſet up* Nero *to the Excluſion of* Britannicus.

This ſame Conduct of *Vitellius*, is a perfect demonſtration of that which Flatterers put in practice every day. Before he

he had devoted all his Grandeur and Reputation at Court to ſerve *Maſſaline*; when ſhe was dead, he employ'd all his Intereſt to ſecond *Agrippina*, who was forming a Deſign, to ſupplant *Britannicus* the young Prince, and lawful Heir to the Empire, meerly for the Advancement of her own Son. And thus are Flatterers no leſs Ungrateful then Cruel, as having no other aim then their own Intereſt. For Acknowledgment can only proceed from Love, and conſequently is never to be expected from the Breaſts of Flatterers, who are incapable of real Affection.

ESSAY. L.

NOR would they venture yet to Solemniſe the Nuptials; there being no Preſident to be found of an Uncle, that ever eſpous'd his Neece.—— Nor did this Heſitation ceaſe, till *Vitellius* by his wonted Artifices undertook to remove the Obſtacle:

Says

Says D'Ablancourt, *They durſt not openly Celebrate the Marriage; for that there never had been any ſuch thing ſeen before in* Rome. *But at length* Vitellius *to remove thoſe Difficulties*, &c. *where he again ſuppreſſes thoſe Emphatical words*, (Nec ante Omiſſa cunctatio.)

Claudius was afraid leaſt his Marriage with *Agrippina* ſhould be look'd upon as Inceſtuous; and conſequently draw from Heaven ſome dire Calamity upon the Empire. *Vitellius* therefore to gratifie this Princeſs, who reſolv'd to Reign, at the expence of Honour, Vertue, Modeſty, and Proſtitution it ſelf, declar'd in a full Senate, That the welfare of the Empire depended upon this Marriage; that it was a viſible effect of the Providence of the Gods, that *Agrippina*, who was of the Imperial Blood, and had given ſufficient Teſtimonies of Fœcundity, and of all the noble Qualities requir'd in an Empreſs, ſhould happen to be a Widow, at the ſame time, that the Emperour was in a condition to Eſpouſe her: That in truth, it was a Novelty at *Rome*, for a Man to Marry his Brothers Daughter; yet that there was no Law which forbid it, and that all other Nations authorz'd the

the Act by publick Presidents: That as Marriages between Cosin Germans, heretofore but rarely known, were now by allowance of Time, become the frequent Mode, succeeding ages would permit the same liberty also in this Case; and therefore that was their duty to accommodate their Debates, to the present necessity of Affairs. Thus that which *Claudius* thought to be a Crime, (and was so indeed among the *Romans*) was by *Vitellius* burnish'd over with the specious Titles, not only of the *Welfare of the Empire*, but the Will of the Gods. And thus we see how Flatterers mislead unsteady Princes, and embolden 'em to do those things, which of themselves they dread. For *Tacitus* makes this Marriage so great a Crime, that he affirms it to be the Source and Original of all *Agrippina*'s Impieties.

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ESSAY EI.

NOR were there any wanting who crowded out of the Senate, crying out, they would make uſe of Force, if *Cæſar* delay'd. And a promiſcuous Multitude being got together, clamour'd aloud, that it was the Voice of the *Roman* People. Then *Claudius* without farther Heſitation enter'd the Senate, and demanded a Decree, declaring all Marriages for the future Legitimate, between Uncles and Neeces.

Says D'Ablancourt, *There were ſome ſo Inſolent, as to riſe from their Seats, and ruſh out of the Senate, as it were to conſtrain the Emperour if he made any Difficulties; and the Multitude cry'd out in the Streets, that it was the Will of the* Roman *People. Then* Claudius *without any farther delay entring the Senate, demanded a Decree to Legitimate this Marriage, and that it might be lawful for the future, for the Uncle to Marry the Neece.*

Princes

Princes are misguided by their Flatterers, and the People are led astray by the Examples of their Princes. How pleasing and how acceptable is that sort of Adulation, which Imposes upon Princes a necessity to do the Thing, which they desire themselves with far more earnestness, then they with all their Zeal make shew of, who put the Force upon 'em. They reap all the Pleasure, and their Subjects all the Infamy.

ESSAY LII.

AND yet there was not found but one, who attempted such a Marriage, *Talledius Severus*, a *Roman* Knight; to which, as it was reputed, he was meerly instigated, to serve his Mistress *Agrippina*.

However, says D'Ablancourt, *there was but one single Person who follow'd the Example; which by report he always did, to please* Agrippina.

A certain Proof, that Subjects think quite otherwise then they speak. When

they find that the Prince's desires are eagerly bent for speedy Satisfaction, they shew themselves more eager still to gratifie his Impatience: Yet afterward they shew their Dislike, in forbearing to follow the Example; which is the most certain Symptom which the People can give of their ill Resentment of the Act. *Claudius* had caus'd his Marriage to be decreed Legitimate by the Senate, believing the *Romans* would follow his Example, and authorize those Marriages by Custom. However notwithstanding the Decree, which was a sufficient shelter from Punishment or Infamy; yet there was but one single Person who follow'd his President. Nor did he neither marry his Wife out of any true persuasion that his Marriage was Just and Lawful, but out of a desire to please the Empress, and to raise his Fortune by an Act, of which there was no Body car'd to share the Reward.

ESSAY LIII.

HOwever thanks was return'd the Prince, intermix'd with more exquisite Adulations of *Tiberius*; and a Law enacted, that the Name of *Nero* should be Transferr'd into the *Claudian* Family.

Says D'Ablancourt, *The Senate return'd thanks to the Emperour, wherein they cunningly interwove the Praises of* Nero, *who was oblig'd to quit the name of* Domitius *for that of* Nero, *in favour of his Adoption.*

Here *Claudius* had the Thanks of the Senate for a great piece of Injustice which he had done *Britannicus*, his own Son, as if he had perform'd some noble Exploit. And *Nero*, according to the Custom of Flattery, which always addresses her Adorations to the Rising Sun, was applauded, as if he had been worthy of the Empire, whereas all his Pretensions had no other Foundation then

an Inceſtuous Marriage, and a pernicious Adoption made by a weak and miſguided Prince. But whether Princes do well or ill, they are always applauded, and have always Thanks return'd 'em for what they do, and never more then when they leaſt deſerve either the one or the other. And this is an eaſie and certain Rule, by which to know a Sycophant.

ESSAY LIV.

TO which it was added by *Scipio Cornelius*, that Thanks ſhould be publickly given to *Pallas*, for that he being ſprung from the Kings of *Arcadia*, preferr'd the Public Benefit before his Ancient Nobility, and condeſcended to be ſtill a Servant to the Emperour.

Scipio *added*, Says D'Ablancourt, *that Thanks ſhould be given to* Pallas, *for that being deſcended from the* Arcadian *Kings, he preferr'd the Intereſt of the Empire when his Grandeur was ſo Sublime, and choſe rather to be countedone of the Emperours Miniſters.*

Thus

Thus we find what comes to paſs, when the Miniſters are more Powerful then the Prince; or at leaſt, when the Prince ſuffers himſelf to be Govern'd by his Miniſters, as *Claudius* did. Flatterers who adore the Favour only, will not allow the Prince to honour the Miniſter, but will have the Miniſter to be an honour to the Prince. *Pallas* was no more then one of *Claudius*'s Bondmen, by him made Free, and for this a Noble Senator has the confidence to applaud him in a full Senate, for contenting himſelf with the Quality of a Chief Miniſter. As if he would have ſaid, that he deſerv'd to ſupply his Maſters Throne, who indeed according to the younger *Pliny*'s Expreſſion, was no more then a Slave to his Bondmen.

ESSAY LV.

AND a Decree of the Senate was Engrav'd in Marble, and publickly Erected, wherein an Enfranchis'd Slave, in poſſeſſion of above ſeven Millions in Gold, was ex-

toll'd for his Frugality, equal to the Parcimony of Ancient Times.

Says D'Ablancourt, *They made a Decree by which an Enfranchis'd Slave, that was worth above ſeven Millions in Gold, had the praiſes of Ancient Frugality.*

The Conſul, *Barea Soranus*, having decreed to *Pallas*, the Pretors Ornaments, and a Preſent of a Million of Money, in recompence of his Services, *Claudius* declar'd, That *Pallas* was ſatisfi'd with the Honour, and was unwilling to renounce his primitive Poverty. An Expreſſion befitting the poorneſs of *Claudius*'s Spirit, who 'tis very probable could not be Ignorant, that his Bondman was at that time Richer, then all the Kings of *Arcady*, his pretended Anceſtors.

The younger *Pliny* makes mention of this Decree in two of his Letters, in ſuch Terms as will ſerve in this place, for a moſt excellent Commentary. *There is*, ſaith he, *upon the High-way to* Tivoly, *a Monument of* Pallas, *with this Inſcription*: The Senate has decreed to *Pallas* the Ornaments of the Pretorſhip, and the Gift of a Million, for his Fidelity and Zeal to-

toward his Maſters, but he is contented with the Honour.

But certainly I was never an Admirer of thoſe things that proceed rather from Fortune then Judgment. More eſpecially this Inſcription taught me a new Leſſon, what a ſtrange Impertinency thoſe Men were guilty of, who decreed Honour to a Scoundrel; and what an unuſual Impudence poſſeſs'd that Raſcally Fellow to accept the one, and refuſe the other; and to transfer theſe refuſals to Poſterity, for an Example of Modeſty. But to what purpoſe doe I ſeem to be offended at it? Were it not more proper for me to make it the ſubject of my Deriſion, to the end they may not think to have gain'd any great Matter, who by their good Fortune, do but ſerve to be the Sport and Contempt of other Men?

In another Letter, after he has told ye, that as Lofty as this Inſcription ſeems to be, yet it appear'd both Modeſt and Humble, in reſpect of the Decree which he found among the Regiſters of the Senate, he adds the following words. *I omit to tell ye, that the Pretorian Ornaments were offer'd to a Slave, becauſe they were Slaves themſelves that offer'd 'em: And that it was Decreed, not only to beſeech him, but alſo to force him to wear the Rings of*

Gold. For it was a Diſhonour to the Majeſty of the Senate, for a Pretorian to wear Rings of Steel. But this is nothing; *that which is moſt worthy Obſervation, is this, That the Senate return'd Thanks to the Emperour, in the name of* Pallas, *for having ſpoken ſo advantageouſly in his behalf, and given leave to the Senate, to give him thoſe Teſtimonials of their Reſpects and good Will toward him. For what could be more Honourable to the Senate, then to ſhew their Gratitude to* Pallas? *The Senate knowing how averſe* Pallas *was from ſuch Ambitious deſires, ordain that an Addreſs ſhould be made to the Emperour, to beſeech him that he would oblige* Pallas *to accept the Senates Kindneſs. There could not be a more Servile Condeſcention then this, that the Public Authority was made uſe of, and the Interceſſion of the Emperour implor'd, to mollifie the haughty Moderation of* Pallas *ſo far, as to bring him to vouchſafe the acceptance of the Senates Preſent.*—— *Now do but imagine you ſaw* Pallas *oppoſing the Decree of the Senate, and moving in Mitigation of the Honours which they offer'd him; refuſing a Million, which was given him as a Preſent, tho' an exceſſive Gift, after he had accepted the Ornaments of the Pretorſhip, as a thing of mean Value; ſuppoſe*

you

you ſaw the Emperour, who ſubmits to th Intreaties, or rather Commands of a Bond man Enfranchis'd, in the preſence of the Senate. Then take a view of the Senate, who recite in their Decree, that among other Honours decreed to Pallas, *they thought it material to add this Donative, in recompence of the Services he had done the Empire, and that they did not deſiſt from their Importunities to* Pallas, *that he would be pleas'd to accept their Donative, but only in Obedience to the Emperour, whoſe Will and Pleaſure it was not lawful for them to gainſay in any reſpect. The concluſion will be, that it requir'd no leſs then all the Modeſty of* Pallas, *and all the Complaiſance of the Senate, to excuſe* Pallas *from accepting a whole Million of the Publick Treaſure. To which the Senate would never have conſented, but that they thought it contrary to their Duty to diſobey the Emperour. Now do you believe that this is all? No, there is ſomething worſe behind. It was Ordain'd that this Decree ſhould be Engrav'd in Braſs, and ſet up next the Armed Statue of* Julius Cæſar. *'Twas not enough for the Senate to be the Teſtimony of ſo great a piece of Infamy, they made choice of a moſt remarkable Place, where it was to be read by the Living, and tranſmitted to Poſterity. It was their care,*

that all the Honours offer'd to an Inſolent Slave, ſhould be Engrav'd in Braſs; what he had refus'd, and what he had accepted. His Pretorian Ornaments were Inſcrib'd upon Public and Eternal Monuments, like the Ancient Leagues, and Alliances, nay like the Sacred Laws of the Empire. Such of the Prince, ſuch of the Senate, ſuch of Pallas *himſelf, was that I know not what to call it. While all Three expos'd to the view of all the World;* Pallas *his Inſolence, the Emperour his Patience, and the Senate their Obſequious Servility.*

Certainly the *Roman* Flattery far outdid the Adulation of the *Greeks.*

ESSAY LVI.

WHile he diſcours'd the Antiquity of his Extraction, and number'd up the Conſulſhips and Triumphs of his Anceſtors; while he Commemorated his Inclinations to Learning, and the Liberal Arts, and inſiſted upon the Proſperity of his Reign, in all which time the Commonweal had ſuffer'd

no

no Diſaſter, he was attentively and willingly heard by all: But when he came to applaud his Providence and his Wiſdom, there was hardly any Perſon could refrain from Laughter.

Says D'Ablancourt, Nero *ſpoke his Funeral Oration, wherein he highly extoll'd the Antiquity of his Deſcent, and the Grandeur of his Anceſtors, Enumerating at length their Conſulſhips and their Triumphs. Thence he proceeded to applaud his Learning; and told the People how that the Empire had ſuffer'd no Dammage during all his Reign. All which was heard attentively without the leaſt Murmur; but when he began to talk of his Prudence and his Wiſdom, they could not forbear Laughing.*

Flatterers often fall into the ſame Imprudent Errors; while they ſtrive to be exceſſive in their Praiſes, they render both themſelves, and thoſe they applaud Ridiculous. Many People Flatter, but few are Maſters of the Art. Witneſs *Seneca*, who as great and piercing a Wit as he was, was not ſenſible of the Impertinency of the Harangue which he had made

made for his Pupil, till he found it to be derided by all that heard it. For to extol the Wiſdom and Underſtanding of *Claudius*, who was ſo generally known to be a Perſon of weak and ſottiſh Intellectuals, was to accuſe all Mankind of Stupidity.

ESSAY. LVII.

HE forbids any Statues of Maſſie Gold or Silver to be Erected, in Honour of his Perſon.—And when the Magiſtrates took their Oaths, in Confirmation of the Acts of his Predeceſſors, he would not ſuffer *Antiſthius*, one of his Conſuls, to hear the Confirmation of His; for which the Senate loaded him with Encomiums, in hopes that ſince his youthful Thoughts were thus enclin'd to Vertues of a lower Rank, he would continue greater.

Nero, Says D'Ablancourt, *would not ſuffer his Collegue to pay him that Honour; which was receiv'd with Acclamations more*

then

then ordinary, on purpose to excite the youthful Prince to the love of Vertue. Which last words come far short of the sense of *Tacitus.*

Modesty is a powerful means to procure both Love and Esteem to a young Prince, at the beginning of his Reign. For as it is then the time that Flattery sets all her Springs at work, to make her self the Darling of his Favour, so is it likewise then that he acquires a solid Reputation, if he ward off the first Assault of Adulation. And therefore it was, that the Senate were so profuse of their Praises to *Nero*, to pre-ingage him by their own, against the Flatteries of others. For there is a sort of Adulation allowable and wholesome, which infuses into Princes and great Personages a love of Vertue, wherein consists their chiefest Glory.

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ESSAY LVIII.

AS lately too ſevere in Reſtraining his Son, now as immoderately Submiſſive.

Says D'Ablancourt, Agrippina *was conſtrain'd to change her Severity into Careſſes, and to repent her paſt Severity; and that with as much Submiſſion now, as Rigour and Arrogance before.*

Of all the ſorts of Flatterers, there are none ſo bad as thoſe that are forc'd to ſtoop, in hopes to regain the favour of a Prince, whom they have diſoblig'd either by their Severity, or over ſawcy Freedom. For being then to repair the Faults of their Ingratitude, they ſpare for no ſubmiſſion to recover what they have loſt, either by their Moroſeneſs, or their unwary Zeal. For there is a far greater mixture of Vanity then Integrity in that ſame Hardineſs, which many Men aſſume in reprimanding Princes. Who are never to be contradicted, but when we are aſſur'd, that our Arguments are ſuch

ſuch as will not offend their Ears; and that it may prove the more Succeſsful, the Admonition muſt be ſuch as may ſeem to reliſh of Commendation. *Ita reprehendat ut laudet*, ſays *Pliny*, *Ep.* 12. *l.* 3. Thus *Gundamore*, the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour in *England*, perceiving that *James* I. particularly valu'd himſelf for his Scholaſtic Learning, very facetiouſly told him one day, that his Majeſty ſpoke *Latin*, as it became *Gundamore* to ſpeak it: Whereas Count *Gundamore* ſpoke it, as it rather became his Majeſty to do; inſinuating that Pedantic Learning was beneath a Prince, from whoſe Lips there is always expected ſomething more Weighty and Sublime.

ESSAY LIX.

THereupon the Senate enacted Public Proceſſions, and Days of Thankſgiving; Statues alſo, Triumphal Arches, and continual Conſulſhips were decreed the Prince: And that the Days upon which the Victory was won, when the Tidings

dings were brought, and the Relation of it made, ſhould be number'd among the Solemn Feſtivals; with ſeveral other Additions altogether ſo Exorbitaut, that *Caius Caſſius* readily conſenting to the former Honours, farther declar'd, That if the Solemn Thanks to be repay'd the Gods were to be meaſur'd according to the merit of their Benignity, the whole Year would be too ſmall a time for Public Supplications; and therefore that the Holy-days and Worky-days, ought only ſo to be divided, as that the Worſhip of the Gods might not be a hinderance to ſecular Buſineſs.

Says D'Ablancourt, *The Senate ordain'd Public Proceſſions, Triumphal Arches and Statues, together with a new Conſulſhip in Honour of the Prince; and farther that the Day wherein the City was taken, when the News was brought, as likewiſe when the Decrees were made, ſhould be ſolemnly obſerv'd as Public Anniverſaries, with ſeveral other Flatteries ſo exceſſive, that* Caius Caſſius

who

who conſented to all the reſt, was conſtrain'd to add, That if they were to render Thanks to the Gods proportionable to their Favours, the whole Year would not ſuffice; only ſome days were to be ſet a part and excepted, that the Worſhip of the Gods might not hinder Human Commerce.

This Article has no need of any Commentary. Only I will obſerve this by the way, That what *Caſſius* ſpoke of *Nero*'s Reign, might be well ſaid of *Lewis the Great*, which has been a compleat Kalender of nothing elſe but Combats, Victories, and Triumphs. So that if *Paterculus* obſerv'd of *Cæſar*, That his Atchievements were ſo great, that he who durſt attempt and bring to paſs ſuch wondrous Enterpriſes, could hardly be other then ſome Deity: What would he have ſaid of a Prince, that in a few days won thoſe Cities, which *Cæſar* could not take in many Months?

ESSAY LX.

IN this ſame Conſternation, the Flattery of the Centurions and Tribunes firſt erected his drooping hopes, crowding to kiſs his Hands, and congratulate his Eſcape from the unſuſpected and horrid Contrivances of his Mother. Then the Courtiers reſorted thick and threefold to the Temples; and thus the Example being ſet, the Neighbouring Municipal Towns of *Campania* teſtify'd their joy by Sacrifices, and public Addreſſes.

Says D'Ablancourt, Burrhus *was the firſt who rais'd his Hopes, perſuading the Officers of the Guard to Complement him upon the Danger he had eſcap'd, and teſtifie their Joy to ſee him deliver'd from the Ambuſhes of his Mother. After that, the Courtiers frequented the Temples, and Addreſſes came from all the Neighbouring Cities*, &c.

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Flattery is a Contagion that ſpreads it ſelf from Man to Man. When ever any one has led the way, all the reſt are preſently at ſtrife who ſhall outdo him. *Nero* had but juſt embru'd his Hands in a moſt inhuman Parricide, and the People ſtood gazing one upon another with Fear and Aſtoniſhment. *Nero* himſelf was almoſt at his Wits end. But no ſooner had the *Pretorian* Officers kiſs'd his Hands, and aſſur'd him of their Fidelity, but the Courtiers, a ſort of People always ready to unmask, were not aſham'd to kneel before the Gods; nor the Neighbouring Cities to offer Sacrifices for joy of ſuch a perpetrated Crime, which cry'd aloud for Vengeance on the Deteſtable Murderer. Horrid Thankſgivings, more Impious then the Parricide it ſelf. But the Senate acted higher yet, and worſe: They decreed Public Interceſſions for the Welfare of the Prince, and put the day of his Mother's Nativity among the Unfortunate Days; and that upon which her pretended Conſpiracy was diſcover'd, among the moſt Solemn Feſtivals of the Year. So true it is, that never greater Honours are decreed to Princes, then when they are extreamly hated. For Diſſimulation is more ingenious then Truth,

Truth, says the younger *Pliny*; Servitude then Freedom; and Fear then Love.

ESSAY LXI.

WHile he was hesitating in the Cities of *Campania*, how he might return to the City, and no less anxious whether to expect either the Addresses of the Obsequious Senate, or the Favour of the People, all the most infamous of his Adherents argu'd against his vain fears, that *Agrippina*'s name was become odious, and that by her Death he had inflam'd the affection of the People toward him; and therefore that he should go with an undaunted Courage, and try the effects of their veneration upon the Place.

Says D'Ablancourt, *While the Emperour staid in the Cities of* Campania, *uncertain whether he should return to* Rome, *or seek the Applauses of the Senate and the People*

People first: (Tacitus *does not say whether he should* seek, *but* wait for, *considering the Enormity of his Crime.*) *His Courtiers advis'd him to go on, and fear nothing; for that they should find the Affections of the People redoubl'd by the death of* Agrippina, *whose very memory they Execrated; and therefore that he should go Couragiously to reap the fruit of his Renown and Glory.*

Tho' Princes are made believe that they have an absolute Liberty to do what e'r they please, yet are they touch'd with an inward Remorce, when they either do or have committed any Act which is in it self unlawful. After *Nero* had caus'd his Mother to be murder'd, he durst not shew his Face, he wander'd from City to City, thinking to dissipate those Fears and Jealousies with which the apparition of his Crime that haunted him where e'r he went, continually tormented his mind. But his Flatterers, accustom'd to extoll the most hainous miscarriages of great Personages, soon Cur'd him of his Shame and his Fear; persuading him that all the People of *Rome* rejoyc'd at *Agrippina*'s death, and thought themselves beholding to him for having rid her out of the way, tho' every Body

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in ſecret deteſted the Action, and had a bad opinion of *Seneca*, for the Letters which he wrote to the Senate, in Juſtification of *Nero*. Ill done in *Seneca*, tho' ſeaſonably perhaps, who after he had been beholding to *Agrippina* for all his Fortune, had the grace to lay to her charge all the Miſchiefs, and all the acts of Injuſtice, that had been committed in *Claudius*'s Reign. He whom ſhe had recall'd from Exile, and advanc'd to be Tutor to her Son, where he had rammaſs'd together above ſeven Millions of Gold in four Years. A fair Proof, that he knew how better to diſcourſe of *Benefits* and *Kindneſſes* then to acknowledge 'em; and that it is but too true, that how deeply ſoever Men are oblig'd to thoſe who fall into Misfortue, they then believe the Engagement fully ſatisfy'd.

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ESSAY LXII.

HEnce reſuming his wonted Pride, and victor over Public Servitude, he enters the Capital, pays his Thanks, and abandons himſelf to all manner of Luxury and Laſciviouſneſs.

Says D'Ablancourt, *He aſcended into the Capital, triumphing over Public Servitude, and having paid his Thanks to the Gods, gave himſelf over to all manner of Voluptuouſneſs.*

Behold the Effects of Flattery. *Nero*, who fear'd to return to *Rome*, obſerving that the Senate and the People paid him greater Honours, then his Flatterers had promis'd; and that the City had ſet up Scaffolds to behold him make his Entry, as if he had led all the Barbarian Kings in Triumph, began to believe, that his Parricide was lookt upon as a noble Exploit; and that by conſequence, there was not any thing which he might not bold-

boldly undertake for the future. Thus when Princes once have laid aſide all Fear and Baſhfulneſs, ſmall are the hopes of any farther good from *Them.* And here it was, that *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, both Men of great Prudence and Policy, were much deceiv'd, while they thought, that their condeſcenſion to any ſingle Ridiculous Pleaſure of their Pupil, would in a ſhort time make him weary of that Vice. For after he had ſpent his time one while in playing the Charioteer in an enclos'd piece of Ground, where no body had liberty to enter; he would needs have Spectators afterwards, whoſe Applauſes did but ſerve to encourage him in the continuance of that Exercise, which his Governours were in hopes would ſoon have tir'd him. In ſhort, after he had been a Charioteer, and had engag'd the Principal of the Nobility to aſcend the Theatre, he took his place himſelf there alſo, to ſing to the Harp before his Courtiers, and the Soldiers of his Guard: Well pleas'd with the Applauſes of a company of young *Roman* Knights, who immediately admir'd his Beauty and his Vocie, for Divine Perfections. Whence *Tacitus* concludes, that if Modeſty and Baſhfulneſs, be ſo diffi-

cultly

cultly preſerv'd by Vertuous Education, how are they poſſibly to be preſerv'd in a Court, where Vices contend and only emulate each other; and where men are only eſteem'd for being double Hearted, and they accounted Beſt, who are the Worſt.

ESSAY XLIII.

NO Man carry'd away the Prize for Eloquence, but *Cæſar* was pronounc'd the Victor.

Says D'Ablancourt, *No Man carry'd away the Prize of Eloquence, but they gave the Victory unanimouſly to the Emperour.*

Tacitus relates, That the Funeral Oration which *Nero* pronounc'd at the Obſequies of the Emperour *Claudius*, ſeem'd to favour of *Seneca*'s Stile; which gave an Occaſion for ſome to obſerve, that *Nero* was the firſt Emperour that ever ſtood in need of another mans Eloquence, for that he employ'd his Parts quite another way; as in Painting, Sculpture, Muſick, and ſometimes in Poetry, to

which he had a great Inclination. Therefore it could be no other then pure Flattery, which adjudg'd him the Prize of Eloquence; as it is the cuſtom to aſcribe to Princes all thoſe Qualities, which add to the Luſtre of Majeſty.

ESSAY. LXIV.

THE Temple alſo erected to Deifie *Claudius*, was look'd upon as the Tower, *as Others will have it*, the Pledge of Perpetual Domination.

Says D'Ablancourt; *The People alſo look'd upon the Temple dedicated to* Claudius *as a Gage of Perpetual Servitude.*

Theſe People, meaning the *Britains* who were not yet accuſtom'd to Servitude, finding themſelves tyranniz'd over by the *Romans*, without any hopes of being better dealt with for the future, revolted from their forc'd Obedience, cut their Soldiers in pieces, and in two days made themſelves Maſters of this Temple, which ſeem'd to have been built for no other

other purpoſe but to let 'em underſtand, that their Liberty was exterminated for ever. When Princes ſubdue great Cities, their Flatterers are the moſt diligent Perſons in the World to erect Magnificent Trophies in their Honour, which rather ſerve to exaſperate the Vanquiſh'd, then to inſtruct the Victor what is abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of his Conqueſt. Thus the Brazen Statue of the Duke of *Alva* trampling under feet two other leſſer Figures, repreſenting the People and Nobility of the Low Countries, coſt the King of *Spain* the Revolt of *Antwerp*, and ſeveral other fortify'd Cities.

ESSAY LXV.

NERO then not well in health, when his Flatterers told him, the Empire would be at an end, ſhould it be his Fate to die, made anſwer, *&c.*

Says D'Ablancourt; *One day that he was with his Courtiers, in Flattery, told him that the Empire would expire with him.*

This piece of Flattery is a certain proof of the Impertinency of Flatterers. For, for a Man to tell such a Prince as *Nero*, who made it his chiefest Glory, to be an excellent Charioteer, a good Musician, and an elegant Poet, as much as to say, Eminent in every thing that was beneath a Prince, that the Welfare of the Empire depended wholly upon him, and that expiring with his Life, it was never to rise again, was either to laugh at the Emperor, or make himself ridiculous. Nevertheless we meet with Compliments every day altogether as vain and impertinent, which however are kindly accepted. So true is that Remark of *Tacitus*, That Assiduous Adulation corrupts and blinds the understanding of Great Personages.

ESSAY LXVI.

NERO inclin'd to the more Vicious. They assail *Seneca* with various Accusations. They objected his assuming to himself alone the Pre-eminence in Eloquence, and his making Verses more frequently, since

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Nero had addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of Poetry: That he openly exclaim'd againſt the Prince's Pleaſures: That he contemned his Agility in the management of Horſes; and derided his Voice when he ſang.

The Prince (ſays *D' Ablancourt*) *was naturally enclin'd to follow the worſt Counſels. Thereupon it was laid to* Seneca's *Charge, That he aſcrib'd to himſelf the Glory of being the only Eloquent Perſon in the City; and had made Verſes more frequently, ſince* Nero *began to eſteem Poetry. That he forbore not in public to find fault with his Divertiſements, and to laugh at his Activities in driving Chariots; and derided his Excellency in Muſic.*

When once a Prince begins to lend his Ears to Flatterers, Calumny forthwith makes open War with Men of Vertue. They that accus'd *Seneca*, were certain of over-ruling *Nero*, to his Deſtruction: For that *Burrhus* and He were always averſe to his Pleaſures. For the Court is always full of certain People, who make it all their buſineſs to ſound the Diſguſts and Diſcontentments of Princes, & incenſe 'em againſt them who are both

the Object & the Cauſe of them. And thus it was, that *Sejanus* exaſperated *Tiberius* againſt *Aſinius Gallus*, and that *Coſſurianus Capito* and *Eprius Marcellus* perſwaded *Nero* to rid himſelf of *Thraſea*. As to what the Courtiers laid to *Seneca*'s Charge, that he aſcrib'd to himſelf the ſole Glory of ſurpaſſing all others in Eloquence, that was only an Artifice, by which they render'd him ſo much the more odious to *Nero*, in regard that he, continually making uſe of him for the compoſing thoſe Orations and Speeches which he had to make to the Senate, ſhould thereby take notice, that *Seneca* made Merchandize of this Eloquence; while 'twas the general ſaying, that whatever he ſpoke or did, either Handſom and Noble, ſtill *Seneca* reap'd all the Honour of it, as being the firſt Compoſer. However, that *Nero* was paſt a Child, and by conſequence needed no more Tutors, the Examples of his Anceſtors being ſufficient to inſtruct and adviſe him in the management of his Government. By the way obſerve, that *Tacitus* ſeems obliquely to reprove the Vanity, or rather Vainglory of *Senca*, in ſaying, That he caus'd *Nero* to pronounce ſeveral Popular Harangues, to ſhew the good Education which

which he had given his Pupil, or else in Ostentation of his own Wit. So true it is, that the wisest of Men are subject to an ardent love and desire of Glory: And according to the Greek Proverb, *'Tis the last Shirt they put off.*

ESSAY LXVII.

Tigellinus growing daily more powerful, and believing his wicked Artifices, wherein his chiefest Excellencies lay, would prove more acceptable, could he but engage the Prince to be an Accomplice with him in his Crimes, he dives into his Fears, and found that *Plautus* and *Sylla* were the objects of his Terror.

Says D'Ablancourt; Tigellinus *grew more and more in Credit every day; and to render himself yet more considerable, he resolv'd to plunge* Nero *deeper & deeper in Vice, being the only Craft of which he was the absolute Master. Seeing therefore that the Persons whom the Prince most fear'd, were*

Sylla *and* Rubellius, *he endeavour'd to render their Exile ſuſpected.*

Rubellius Plautus and *Cornelius Sylla*, were Perſons ſuſpected and dreaded by *Nero*- The firſt, becauſe he was deſcended from *Auguſtus* by the Mothers ſide, and in the ſame degree next of Kin to *Nero*; beſides that, he was vaſtly Rich. The ſecond, for that having eſpous'd *Antonia* the Daughter of *Claudius*, and Siſter to *Octavia*, *Nero*'s Wife, he ſeem'd to have ſome Right, or at leaſt ſome Pretenſion to the Empire. For which reaſon he had procur'd their Exilement, the one being Baniſh'd into *Aſia*, and the other into *Gallia*. But *Nero* (as it is the cuſtome of bad Princes to be prone to Fears and Jealouſies) had ſtill the ſame ſuſpitions of theſe two Men, notwithſtanding the diſtance of their Confinement: Wherefore *Tigellinus*, who was not ignorant of the innate Cruelty of his Maſter, and underſtanding from whence his Jealouſies aroſe, infuſes into his mind, That two Perſons of ſuch Illuſtrious Extraction, had the ready opportunity to revenge themſelves in their Exile, where they were at hand to debauch both the Eaſtern and German Armies. That *Nero* might

ſecure

ſecure himſelf from the Contrivances of his Enemies at *Rome*, where his preſence was ſufficient to curb the growing Inſolencies of Mutiny and Diſorder, but that it would be a difficult thing for him to put a ſtop to Deſigns well laid in diſtant Provinces. That the *Gaules* already caſt their Eyes upon *Sylla*, as a Noble Branch of the Dictators Family; and that the hopes of *Aſia* were no leſs in the Grandchild of *Druſus*. That *Sylla*'s Poverty was a ſufficient incitement to puſh him forward in the proſecution of bold and daring Attempts, and that he only affected a counterfeit Supidity, till he met with an opportunity to ſhew his Courage. On the other ſide, that *Plautus* was a Perſon of prodigious Wealth, and ſo far from ſeemiog to love Repoſe and Quiet, that he took a pride in imitating the Ancient *Romans*, and in practiſing the Maxims of the Stoicks, a Sect that teaches Men to be arrogant, turbulent, and daring. Theſe are the dangers that attend Great Perſonages: The Flatterers tell the Prince, that the exceſſive Wealth of a Subject, is fatal to Domination; that they are too High for the Condition of a Private Perſon, and over-ſhadow the Grandeur of a Prince. And therefore it

was, that the Prince of *Conde* made Answer to a Proposal that was made him, only to beg and have such a Government as he should himself desire, *That he had Wealth and Estate sufficient, to preserve himself by his good Services and Loyalty; that if he had more, it would but render him justly suspected to the King, who could have no other reason to Ruine him, but only because he was too Great.*

If they are Poor, then they are represented to the Prince as Malecontents, who study all opportunities to meliorate their Fortunes at the Expence of the Public Tranquillity; that if they are not prevented, their Misery will hurry 'em to Despair; and their Despair to Revolt; and that therefore there is a necessity to hast'n their Destruction. If they are Persons of mean Parts or little Courage, those Feeblenesses are interpreted to be refin'd Policy and Dissimulation. But if they are Persons of Courage and Merit, then they are branded for Dangerous Persons, that will soon be their Sovereign's Masters, if once admitted to the Helm of State. Or if excluded, that they will meditate Revenge, unless cropt in the budd of their Resentment. *Tacitus* tells us, That *Plautus* led a retir'd Life,

Life, went mean and plain, and kept his Family in good order: But the more he conceal'd himſelf in privacy from the ſtratagems of Envy, the more his Reputation expos'd him. Therefore that Philoſopher was in the right, who ſaid, *That Great Men were born to afford Subjects for Tragedies.*

ESSAY. LXVIII.

AFter he found that all his Crimes were applauded as Egregious Acts, he turns *Octavia* out of doors, pretending Sterility, and Marries *Poppæa.*

Says D'Ablancourt; *The Emperour finding that all his Crimes were conſecrated by the Senate, Divorc'd* Octavia, *as being Barren, and Eſpouſes* Poppæa.

Tacitus tells us, That when the Head of *Plautus* was brought to *Nero*, he thus diſcours'd to himſelf! *What fear'ſt thou* Nero, *now that* Plautus *and* Sylla *are dead? Why doſt thou not forthwith Eſpouſe* Poppæa, *and ſend* Octavia *home again, tho' ſhe be truly*

truly Complaisant and Modest, but yet a burthen to thee, for the sake of her Father's Memory, and the affection of the People?

Nero dur'st not repudiate her while *Sylla* her Father-in-Law was alive, and *Plautus* her near Kinsman, who might have reveng'd her Quarrel. But so soon as these Obstacles were remov'd, he never scrupl'd to dissolve a Marriage that had advanc'd him to the Empire. So true it is, that bad Princes cannot endure the sight of those to whom they are too deeply oblig'd. Now *Nero* could not see *Octavia*, without recalling to mind those Obligations which he had receiv'd from her Father, who had preferr'd him before *Britannicus* his only Son; and therefore it was that the Memory of *Claudius* was offensive to his Mind. Moreover the Marriage of *Nero* with *Poppæa*, is a clear demonstration, that when once a bad Prince is rid of his Fears, he lays aside his Shame as soon.

ESSAY LXIX.

OCTAVIA is commanded to die—— And to this, a Scorn more hainous then the Cruelty was added, that *Poppæa* ſaw her Head cut off, and brought into the City. For this, Gifts were decreed to be offer'd to the Temples of the Gods: Which I have on purpoſe deliver'd to Poſterity, that whoever ſhall read the Story of thoſe Times, whether written by our ſelves, or any other Author, may underſtand, that ſo often as any Murther was commanded by the Prince, Thanks were return'd to the Gods; and thoſe things which were formerly the Signals of proſperous Succeſs and Triumph, were now the Concomitants of Public Deſolation.

Says D'Ablancourt; *He commanded* Octavia *to die—— And for an addition of Cruelty, they cut off her Head, to glut the*

the greedy eyes of her Rival. The Senate for this ordain'd, that Offerings ſhould be made in the Temples: Which I mention'd to this end, that They who ſhall hereafter read this Hiſtory, may underſtand, that as often as the Prince had perpetrated any Crime, ſo often Thanks were return'd to the Gods; and that that which was formerly a Mark of our Triumphs, was become the Witneſs of our Miſeries.

ESSAY LXX.

BUT the Child dying within fourth Months, new Flatteries repay'd that Loſs, while the Senate decreed the Infant the Honour of a Goddeſs, a Cuſhion of State, a Temple, and a Preiſteſs.

Says D'Ablancourt; *The Child dy'd four Months after, which made 'em have recourſe to new Flatteries; ſo that they decreed her a Temple, with Divine Honours, and all things thereto belonging.*

Nero having honour'd the Infant with the Title of *Auguſta*, upon the day of her

her Birth, which was a thing for which there was no Preſident before, the Senate, according to the cuſtome of Flattery, which always ſtrives to exceed, would alſo needs decree her Divine Honour, that had never yet been given to any Infant. For when the Prince himſelf opens the way to Flattery, the Contention then runs high among the Croud of Flatterers, who ſhall bear away the Prize, eſpecially when he is under the pangs of Affliction: For that being the time, when Tenderneſs and Compaſſion ſoftens the haughty humours of Men, it affords the moſt proper opportunities to conquer their Affections.

ESSAY LXXI.

C*Ercalis Anicius*, the Conſul Elect, pronounc'd as his peculiar Sentence, that a Temple ſhould be erected with all the ſpeed imaginable, at the Public Charge, to *Divine* N E R O. Which he decreed him, as having ſurmounted Human Grandeur, and deſerving now the Adoration

ration of Men. Which was afterwards number'd among inauſpicious Omens of his Death; for the Honours due to the Gods, were never attributed to the Prince, till he ceas'd to live among Men.

Says D'Ablancourt; Anicius Cerealis *propounded the building him a Temple at the Publick Charge, and in his Propoſal gave him the Title of a God, meaning thereby, that he was exalted above Human Frailty, and deſerv'd to be ador'd by Men. But that was afterwards taken as an ill Omen of his Death, for that the Emperors were never honour'd with that Title, till they were departed out of this World.*

Nero having eſcap'd a Conſpiracy, wherein were engag'd almoſt all the chief Nobility of *Rome*, and with them, Perſons of all ſorts and conditions, and many Women among the reſt, the Senate decreed Thanksgivings and Offerings to the Gods, and particular Honours to the *Sun*, who had diſcover'd the Enterprize, juſt as it was ready to have been put in execution; and to *Salus* or *Safety*, out of whoſe Temple the Senator *Sevinus* had

had taken the Dagger, with which he was to have given the first stroke: All this was done in Honour to the Gods, and had been highly commendable, had not *Nero* been so wicked a Prince. But that there might be nothing wanting of addition to the Public Misfortune, (for to use the words of *Tacitus*, the Gods, in preserving *Nero*, plainly shew'd, that they design'd their Vengeance, not their Saving Favour to the *Roman* People) one of the Consuls propos'd the Consecrating of a Temple to *NERO THE GOD*, as if he meant the World should understand, that the Emperor was beholden for his Deliverance to his Deify'd condition, which exalted him above all Accidents of Fortune, and render'd him Immortal. Certainly this was the utmost extent of human Adulation, above which it was impossible for human Wit to soar a Higher strain. And if 'twere Fear which made the Gods, a Pagan might have been excus'd to Deifie a Prince, who after he had murther'd his Brother *Britannicus*, his Mother, his Wife, his Tutor, seem'd only born to exterminate the Race of Human kind. But how shall we excuse those Christians, who make profession of Vertue in its purity, and particularly of Evan-

Evangelic Simplicity, who abandon themſelves to that degree of Flattery, as to compare a Temporal Prince to the True God, aſcribing to him thoſe Attributes which the Sacred Scripture only gives to the Majeſty of Heaven. As if among ſo many Famous and Renowned Actions with which the Univerſe rings, they could not have found Matter for the moſt Noble Panegyric in the World, without robbing God of that which incommunicably belongs to Him, to give it to *Caſar*.

ESSAY LXXII.

HEnce the Orators took occaſion to ſpend all their Studies upon Panegyrics and Encomiums in honour of the Prince. The Earth (cry'd they) produces not only her uſual Fruits, and Gold confus'd with other Metals, but as if infertiliz'd by Thy Rays with a new acceſs of Plenty, teems with unacuſtom'd Productions, while the Gods throw down their obvious Riches

Riches to encreaſe her Store. With ſeveral other ſervile Raptures, compos'd with no leſs Eloquence then Adulation, as being ſecure of the Credulity of their Hearers.

Says D'Ablancourt; *The Orators made choice of no other Themes for their Panegyrics, crying out, that the Earth produc'd not only Fruits and Flowers, or Metals within its bowels, but from her boſome diſcover'd new Treaſures, to augment the felicity of ſo flouriſhing a Reign. With many other things of the ſame nature, which their own ſervile inclinations, and the Prince's Credulity, produc'd with as much Eloquence as Flattery.*

Princes are the more eaſily induc'd to flatter themſelves with the enjoyment of thoſe ſucceſſes with which Adulation ſooths their Fancies, as being made believe that all things muſt be obedient to their Fortune; and that there is no contending with their Fate. *Nero* therefore, who naturally coveted things the moſt incredible, with eaſe gave credit to his own Wiſhes; and his Courtiers were no leſs careful how they undeceiv'd him, ſeeing how laviſh and profuſe he was in his Ex-

Expences, in hopes of *Dido*'s pretended Treaſures.

Thus it is, that unwary Princes are frequently abus'd and gull'd by their Flatterers, impoveriſhing their Treaſures by immenſe Profuſions, while they feed 'em with vain Expectations. For his expectancy of promis'd Wealth, was one of the cauſes of publick Poverty. 'Tis the courſe of Flatterers ſtill to be buzzing in the Sovereign's Ears, that Princes ſhould never mind good Husbandry; whereas they ſhould have told 'em, they could not be well too thrifty, conſidering there is no end of their Expences.

The Favourites of *Hen.* 3. (ſays *Mezeray* in his Life) had inſtill'd into his mind, that all the Eſtates of his Subjects were abſolutely at his diſpoſal; and that *France* was ſuch an inexhauſtible Fountain of Wealth, that no Prodigality whatever could draw it dry. But this ill Advice, and worſe bad Husbandry (ſays he) caus'd ſuch ſcarcity of Money, that many times there was not ſufficient to defray the Expences of the King's Kitchin.

ESSAY LXXIII.

SOme there were who admoniſh'd him to make *Cæſar* his Heir of the greateſt part of his Eſtate, which would be the way to preſerve the reſt for his Grand-children. Which he refus'd to do, that he might not tarniſh with ſervile condiſcenſion a Life that he had lead, the neareſt that might be to Liberty—— And (ſpeaking of *Petronius*) neither would he Flatter in his Will either *Cæſar*, or *Tigellinus*, or any of the Great Men then in Favour.

Says D'Ablancorut; *Some advis'd him to leave the beſt part of his Eſtate to the Emperor, and to ſave the reſt; but he reply'd, That after he had liv'd ſo long in Honour, he would not ſully the end of his Life with a ſervile Act—— Nor would* Petronius *Flatter in his Will, either* Nero, *or* Tigellinus, *or any other of the Favourites, as moſt of thoſe there that ſuffer'd had done.*

They

They who never committed any degenerate Act in their life-time, are careful to preserve their Reputation to the last gasp. Nor can there be a smarter incentive to die like a Man of Honour, then to have always been so. Therefore *Cocceius Nerva*, the best Friend *Tiberius* had, seeing that the Emperor grew more vicious every day then other, while his Health & Estate were yet in a good condition, and his Reputation unblemish'd, chose to die. And *Thrasea*, whom *Tacitus* calls the Patern of true Honour, made answer to those who advis'd him to delay his Death, That he had nothing more to do but to die as he had liv'd; that is to say, untainted, unpolluted, and imitating the glorious *Exit* of those whom he had emulated in his life-time. For it is not enough for Great Personages to be distinguish'd from Others by the Magnificence of their Funerals, unless at their Deaths they likewise leave a distinct remembrance to Posterity.

E S.

ESSAY LXXIV.

TRuth was several ways ecclips'd and interrupted; first through ignorance of Public Affairs, now mannag'd by a few; then by the contagious lust of Adulation, or else by the general hatred of those that were in Power. So that what between those that were Disgusted, and those that were Obnoxious, there was no care taken of Posterity. But 'tis easie for thee to discry and ward off the Flatteries of a Historian; tho' Detraction and Envy are heard with willing Ears. For there is a kind of resemblance between the foul Crime of Servility and Adulation, but in Malignity, there seems to be some similitude of Liberty. We cannot deny our Preferment begun by *Vespasian*, augmented by *Tiberius*, and farther advanc'd by *Domitian*; but they that pretend to

to an inviolate Fidelity, muſt never be ſway'd by the Affections either of Love or Hatred.

Truth, Says D'Ablancourt, *was clouded and obſcur'd through ignorance of Public Affairs, wherein few were concern'd; and ſophiſticated either by Flattery or Hatred. The Hiſtorians took no care of Poſterity, minding only their Revenge or their Preferment. But tho' Flattery and Obloquie both equally diſguiſe the Truth, it is more eaſie for a Man to ſecure himſelf from the one which is odious to all the World, then from the other, which deceives us under the falſe ſhew of Liberty. 'Tis true, I owe the firſt riſe of my Fortune to* Veſpaſian, *and the progreſs of my Advancement to his Children. But when a Man once goes about to write a Hiſtory, he muſt forget Favours as well as Injuries. Wherein* D'Ablancourt *miſtakes the words of* Tacitus, *who ſays no ſuch thing, but only that no Hiſtorian ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be byaſs'd, either by his Love or by his Hatred.*

Were it abſolutely neceſſary for a Hiſtorian to underſtand not only the Events of things, but alſo the Reaſon and Cauſes

Cauſes which produc'd thoſe Events; it would be impoſſible for any Man to be a good Hiſtorian, that never had any ſhare in the mannagement of Public Affairs. For the Succeſs and Events of things are known to all the World, but the Motives, the Intereſts, the Accidents, the Springs, that enliven'd, mov'd, and mannag'd thoſe Affairs, and were the Cauſes of their proſperous accompliſhments or miſcarriage, are only known to the Contrivers and Artificers themſelves. And for that Reaſon it is, that Hiſtorians of Republics have more advantage to write the Truth of things, then the Subjects of Soveraign Monarchs: Where the Secret lies lockt up in the Breaſt or Cabinet of the Prince, ſo that they may be well call'd ſtrangers to the Government.

The ſecond thing which diſguiſes and disfigures Hiſtory is Flattery, which in Republics is but little practiz'd, where Servility is incompatible with Equality: But is of abſolute uſe in Monarchies, where it is hard to attain to Honours and Imployments, or long to enjoy 'em, but by gaining the favour of the Ruling Soveraign, by the cuſtomary and uſual ways of Aſſentation and Obſequiouſneſs.

The third Rock that Shipwracs Truth, is Hatred; which takes place of Flattery, after the Deceaſe of the Prince. So long as *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero* Reign'd, ſays *Tacitus*, Fear diſguis'd and ecclips'd the Truth, but ſo ſoon as they were Dead, Hatred publiſh'd with aggravations, what Fears ſuppreſs'd before. Whence we may infer, that the Hiſtories of bad Princes, are never faithfully Written, neither when they are Alive, as being dreaded then; nor after their Deceaſe, when Calumny takes her full ſwinge to diſgrace their Memories. When Princes are hated, men are willing to believe whatever is reported of 'em, tho' never ſo hainous and horrid; nay, many things too, which are altogether impoſſible. And for this Reaſon it is, that *Tacitus* deſires of thoſe that ſhall read his Works, never to prefer vulgar Reports and Tales Incredible, tho' greedily ſwallow'd, before plain and downright Truths, not yet corrupted into miracle. There are ſome Hiſtorians that ſeem to have no other deſign, then to abuſe Poſterity, tranſmitting to future Ages, Things not to be believ'd. And ſome Perſons there are, ſo unjuſt and empty in their Judgements,

ments, that no Hiſtories will pleaſe their Appetite, but ſuch as are ſtuff'd with Scandals and Abſurdities. And this proneneſs of the one to Credulity, and of the other to Falſhood it is, which is the occaſion that all Affairs of Importance are communicated to our underſtandings, quite otherwiſe then as they were really tranſacted. Add to this, that many times they who have been the mannagers of theſe Affairs, and encourage the Author of the Story, having ſometimes acted by the ſway of bad Principles, furniſh the Writer with Memorials, ſo far from diſcovering the real Truth, that they rather ſtifle it in thoſe politic Ambiguities, from whence it is impoſſible to Diſinvelop it. Whence it comes to paſs, that the Hiſtorians themſelves being firſt deceiv'd, the Reputation of their Fidelity ſerves only to delude others. Moreover the ſeverity of Hiſtory is ſuch, as not to ſuffer that her Authors ſhould diſcover the leaſt reſentment of injuries or Favours; She would be ſhown to the World without Hatred or Flattery; without Fear or Hope; without refin'd Subtlety or Affectation; not to Criticiſe, but to Inſtruct; nor to kindle

any hatred againſt the men themſelves, but a deteſtation of their Vices.

ESSAY. LXXV.

A Felicity of the Times but rarely known, when it was lawful to think what ever thou wouldſt; and what thy Thoughts were, thoſe to utter freely.

Says D'Ablancourt, *A Subject more Ample and leſs Thornie, upon which a Man might fearleſs utter whatſoe're he thought, which was no ſmall Happineſs.*

Court Flatterers obſerve this for a certain Maxime, Never to ſpeak what they think, but always to ſpeak what they never think, or at leaſt never intend. And thence it is, that Princes being accuſtom'd to underſtand 'em, thoſe Perſons that are Sincere and Real-hearted, are at a Nonplus how to pleaſe their Humours, and by conſequence to make their Fortunes. Beſides, 'tis no ſuch Errour in Princes, as generally the Common ſort believe

believe, not always to favour and esteem those Persons, who freely and frankly speak their own Thoughts. For besides, that freedom of Speech approaches too near forbidden Licence, it is also no less subject to heighten into Imprudent Zeal, which frequently leaves behind most mortal stings in the nice Breasts of Princes. The simplicity of the *Dove* at Court signifies nothing, if it be not manag'd by the wisdom of the *Serpent*.

ESSAY LXXVI

PRosperity and Success, with sharper Probes, explore the Minds of Men; for Miseries are endur'd, but we are corrupted by Felicity. Thou perhaps wilt retain thy Fidelity, thy Liberty, thy Friendship, the chiefest blessings and perfections of the Mind; but others will endeavour to vitiate thy good Nature by their Flatteries. Adulation, and glozing Sycophantries, the most pernicious poyson of a vertuous

Inclination, while every one ſeeks his own Profit and Intereſt, will break in upon thee. Thou and I diſcourſe this day together with Sincerity and Cordial Integrity, others more willingly addreſs themſelves to our Fortune then to us. For to perſuade a Prince to what it behoves him to do, is a task of great difficulty. But to Flatter any Prince, there's no Affection requir'd. To be Begotten or Deſcend from Princes is meerly Fictitious, nor is valu'd any farther. *Nero* will be alſo always wiſh'd for by the worſt of Men; however it muſt be both Our Cares, that he be not wiſh'd for by the Good and Vertuous. But this is not a time to inſiſt longer upon Admonitions. The moſt profitable and the ſhorteſt Method in the regulation of thy Actions, is to conſider what thou wouldſt require, and what not, from another Prince. For thou art now to Govern a People that will not brook an

an Absolute Servitude, add will be as impatient of Absolute Liberty.

Says D'Ablancourt, *Prosperity has more powerful Incentives then Adversity, for we give way to the one and resist the other.* (Which words are more obscure then the Text it self.) *Tho' thy Inclinations prompt thee to preserve thy Vertue, they that have access to thee, will have lost their own.* (Which is quite contrary to the sense of *Tacitus.*) *There is nothing so easie as Complaisance, and therefore all Men are ready to make use of it. But there are few Persons that advise Princes what they ought to do, because it is a Task of too great difficulty.* (Here also is the sense of *Tacitus* again mistaken.) *'Tis by Fortune that Men are born Sovereign Princes.* (Here again *Tacitus* expresses himself more at large.) *Only, Do thou learn that the shortest way to Govern well, is to consider what is to be Approv'd, and what Condemn'd in other Princes; to avoid the one, and follow the example of the other.* (Which latter words are superfluous.) *Never were more Noble, nor more Universal Admonitions given to Princes, to guard themselves from the contagion of Flattery. Here they are warn'd, that Prosperity runs them headlong into more Impieties then Adver-*

for that it uſually plunges 'em into all manner of Luxury, and all that Tacitus *calls the* Licence *of Regality. Which was the Reaſon of that Saying of* Tiberius *himſelf, That the more Puiſſant he was, the more in danger he was of Falling; and that he could not have his Authority, without Diminiſhing the Law.*

Thus what *Galba* ſays to *Piſo*, that the obſequious Reſpect which all men would pay to his Perſon would corrupt his Vertue, is a wholeſom Admonition which he gives to all Princes, not to confide in the conſtancy of their own Reſolutions, nor in their natural inclination to Juſtice, in regard that if they bow their Ears to their Flatterers, Adulation by vertue of her alluring Blandiſhments, will glide at length through the Ears into the Heart, and tear from thence all Shame, all Moderation, Docility, Gratitude, Clemency, and all other Vertues whatever that harbours there. *Mezeray* gives us a remarkable Example of this, in the Perſon of *Henry* III. *His Reign*, ſaith he in his Life, *might be call'd the Reign of Favorites* (and conſequently of Flatterers) *they brought to perfection their Deſign, and abſolutely Enervated whatever he had of conſtant*

ſtant Reſolution, and at length diſſolv'd him into all Voluptuouſneſs. And that they might poſſeſs him wholly to themſelves, they perſuaded him not to ſhew himſelf ſo frequently and ſo publicly to his Subjects as his Predeceſſors had done, but to keep himſelf reſerv'd and cloſe like the Eaſtern Monarchs; or if he did at any time appear among 'em, that it ſhould be with all the dazling Pomp and Magnificence imaginable, or elſe to let 'em know him by the Abſoluteneſs of his Commands; but above all, to break the Neck of that Cuſtom among the French *of making Remonſtrances, and to make 'em underſtand that there was no other Juſtice but his Will.* (For according to the Dictates of Flattery, 'tis but a precarious Reign, and an Acquieſcence in ſingle Authority, which extends it ſelf no farther, then only Things permitted.) *With theſe Flatteries they rais'd him to a high Opinion of himſelf, and fill'd him with a Conceit, that he was the Greateſt Prince in the World: That all the Politics of his very Youth, were Maſter-pieces; and that all the Prudence of the moſt Cunning Artiſts in that Profeſſion, was but meer Ignorance in compariſon of his.*

Nor is there any Prince whatever, to whom at leaſt ſome of their Flatterers do not ſay as much: A ſufficient demonſtra-

tion that they ſpeak not to the Perſon, but the Fortune of the Prince, which is the ſole object of their Adorations. As for the advantage of being born a Prince, *Galba* tells *Piſo* 'twas only an accident of Fortune, to let him underſtand, that it was not an Honour to be ſo highly glory'd in by Princes, as being that which they receiv'd from another, and was no Honour to 'em farther, then they gave it luſtre by the brightneſs of their own Vertue. They that told *Nero* he needed no other Rule whereby to govern himſelf then the Examples of his Anceſtors, while they Flatter'd him with the greatneſs of his Birth, did but give him an oblique hint, that having *Auguſtus* for his Great Grand-father, and *Germanicus* for his Grand-father, it beſt became him to derive his Glory from the Imitation of thoſe two Perſons: For it is not Nobility of Extraction that makes a Prince. *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*, were all Illuſtrious by Deſcent, but Scandals to the Empire and the Family of the *Cæſars*. Neither is it the vaſt extent of Dominion that makes an Emperour; but on the contrary 'tis rather a Burthen, which only ſerves to diſplay the Weakneſs of the Prince, and by conſequence to render him

him Contemptible, when he is found to be incapable of Government. Witness *Galba*, who when he came to the Empire, through his want of Parts, lost all the Reputation which he had acquir'd, while he was only Governour of a Province; whom all Men would have judg'd most fit for the Imperial Dignity, unless he had Reign'd.

A Prince therefore is never to be accompted a Great Prince, unless the glory of his Merit be equal to those of his Fortune. Historians, says *Matchiavel*, gave greater Applauses to *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, while he was but as yet a private Person, then to *Perseus*, when he was King of *Macedon*; for that *Hiero* wanted nothing but a Kingdom to be a Prince, whereas the other had nothing in him of a King, but his Kingdom. An Argument, that Posterity considers neither Royal Birth, nor Royalty it self, as not deserving its Esteem, but how the Prince manag'd his Affairs, and carry'd himself in so high and difficult an Employment. And in this sense it was, that *Tiberius* pray'd the Gods to grant him a quiet Mind to the end of his Life, and all necessary Understanding of the Law of God and Man, that after his Decease, his

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Name and his Actions might be Honour'd with the remembrance and approbation of all his Subjects. Obſerve by the way, that in the ſame place he tells the Senate, how highly Honour'd ſhould he deem himſelf, if Poſterity do him but that Juſtice to acknowledge him for a Prince worthy his Anceſtors, Vigilant, Reſolute in Dangers, and Zealous for the Public Welfare, fearleſs of Envy or Hatred. To inform thoſe who are Born Princes, that it ought to be their chiefeſt Ambition to ſhew themſelves worthy of their Illuſtrious Extraction, in performing glorious Actions, deſerving the Remembrance of all ſucceeding Ages. And this was that which *Octavius* himſelf confirm'd, when his Mother and his Father in Law diſſuading him, to acknowledge himſelf Heir to *Julius Cæſar*, he rejected their Counſel, affirming, 'twould be a ſhame for him to think himſelf above a Fortune that *Cæſar* thought him worthy of: To whoſe Opinion he would rather ſtand then theirs, who underſtood not his Worth. But to return to *Galba*.

Nero, ſaid he, will be always lamented and wiſh'd for by the Wicked; but it muſt be our Duty ſo to behave our ſelves that good Men too, may have no reaſon to

to lament his loſs; *which certainly they will do, if we prove no better then He.* This is an Admonition ſo much the more neceſſary for Princes, in regard that Flatterers, by applauding their Actions whether good or bad, and by infuſing a Conceit into their minds, that they ſurpaſs all their Predeceſſors, make 'em ſometimes worſe then they, whoſe memories are become moſt odious. 'Tis a burdenſom thing to ſucceed a Vertuous Prince, ſays *Pliny* in his *Panegyric*, in regard it is a difficult labour to gain that Affection which he had done. Which was the Reaſon that the younger *Pliny* told *Trajan*, that no Body would covet to Succeed him, becauſe no Body could preſume to equal him. But it is no leſs dangerous to ſucceed a bad Prince; for inſtead of this happy Effect, that the vertue of a Predeceſſor ſhould ſerve to enflame the Emulation of him that ſucceeds, it happens that while he fears to be deſpis'd or hated upon the neglect of his Duty, the Vices of the Predeceſſor ſeem to authoriſe, or at leaſt excuſe the the miſcarriages of the ſucceeding Prince. Whence it happens that the latter, not having any recent Example of moderation to upbraid his Liberties, and check his

his Irregularities, he throws of his Mask, and abandons himſelf to all manner of Luxury and Impiety, inſomuch that his Predeceſſor, though he had been very inordinate, is many times recall'd again in wiſhes for a good Prince. Thus the loſs of *Tiberius* was bewail'd in the Reign of *Caligula*, *Caligula* in the Reign of *Nero*, and *Nero* in the Reign of *Domitius*: So true it is, that wickedneſs finds out new Rivals every day, eſpecially among bad Princes, that ſuffer themſelves to be guided by their Flatterers; that bad Examples can never ſtop their career, when once they have begun; but that when once they are ſtray'd out of the high Road, they never ſtop till they precipitate themſelves into an Abyſs of all Diſorders.

Laſtly, ſays *Galba*, if thou wouldſt know in ſhort, what method is moſt proper to gain the Eſteem and Love of the People over which thou art to Rule, call to thy remembrance whatever has been applauded or condemn'd in the Princes that have Reign'd in thy time, and then do thou of thy own accord, as formerly *Mecænas* advis'd *Auguſtus*, ſo manage the conduct of thy Rule, as thou wouldſt expect another Prince ſhould do, wert thou a Subject to the ſame Perſon.

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The Younger *Pliny* commends *Trajan* for his obſervance of this Precept. *Long haſt thou liv'd among us* (ſaid he) *and ventur'd with us through the ſame danger, and thereby thou giv'ſt us an apparent demonſtration, that thou art not forgetful of the Wiſhes and Complaints which thou weret wont to make among us, for in thy Sovereignty doſt thou fulfil, whatever thou didſt once deſire ſo ardently, when a private Subject; only with this difference, that thou art more benign and clement toward us, then thou didſt then deſire the Prince ſhould be moderate toward thy Self. And thence, whereas before we wiſht for no other happineſs, then to have a Prince but ſomewhat better then the worſt of all that ever we had* (ſpeaking of *Domitian*) *we are now, by thy means, become ſo nice and difficult, that we cannot endure any other then the Beſt of Emperors.*

And in ſeveral other parts of the ſame Panegyric, *Thou mak'ſt the choice of thy Friends, among the moſt Vertuous; and truly it is but juſt, that they ſhould be belov'd by a good, who have been hated by a wicked Prince. Thou know'ſt the difference between Domination & Supreme Rule, which is the reaſon that they who are now moſt acceptable to the Prince, have the greateſt Antipathy to a Tyrannical Maſter. Thou know'ſt, that there*

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can be no Power ſo great conferr'd on any ſingle Perſon, but that Liberty ſtill is more deſirable then Maſterleſs Superiority. And yet ſo far art thou from triumphing over our Patience, that thy Triumphs are only o'er the pride of wicked Princes. Thou liv'ſt among us like a Father with his Children. 'Tis lawfull to approach thy preſence, to accompany, and ſpeak to thee. Nor is it thy Pride that puts a concluſion to the Diſcourſe, but a modeſt ſhame and fear of being too importunate. Thou Govern'ſt us, and we Obey, but yet no otherwiſe then we Obey the Laws. Thou haſt barr'd up the paſſage to thy Ears againſt greedy Sycophants, who excited thy Predeceſſors to nothing but Rapine and Violence. And now there being no ſuch Prince that will afford a ready Ear to pernicious Counſels, there are none that now will undertake to give it. Inſomuch that being highly oblig'd to Thee, for the Integrity of thy Manners, we are yet more engag'd to thy Vertues, for the amendment of our own, which the Servility of former Times had ſo horribly perverted. So powerful is the Example of a Vertuous Prince, whether out of that veneration which all Men pay him, or the deſire which we have to pleaſe him in our Imitation.

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ESSAY LXXVII.

Piſo's Oration was modeſt and civil; nor did he want the Favour of the *Father*'s; many out of pure good will and affection; more vehemently they that leaſt deſired it; the Middle ſort, and the Moderate party were the moſt, all meditating private Intereſt, while obviouſly obſequious without Care of the Public.

Says D'Ablancourt; Piſo's *Oration was very modeſt, and receiv'd with applauſe by the Flattery of ſome, and the Affection of others. They who had the leaſt deſire, teſtify'd the moſt, and every one ſuffer'd himſelf to be buſy'd by his particular Intereſt, without any Care of the Republic.*

A new Prince always occaſions the growth of new Intereſts, new Expectations, and new Sycophants. And Flattery was the more exceſſive toward *Piſo*, while every one believ'd that Sycophantry could not chooſe but be acceptable to a

a Person who had always been the Mark of Adverse Fortune. For there is nothing so lulling to the Sences, as to be Flatter'd, Caress'd and Honour'd, after a Man has been a long time Unfortunate. And for that reason it was that *Galba*, putting him in mind of his former condition, *Hitherto* (said he) *thou hast only experimented the Cruelties of Fortune; now she begins to look upon thee with a favourable Eye: However be sure to stand upon thy Guard, for it is more easie constantly to undergo Adversity, as thou hast done, then to resist Allurements of Prosperity, so ingenious in depraving our Inclinations. 'Tis not to be question'd but that thou art a Person of great Vertue, but if once thou giv'st admision to Flattery, she will soon impair thy Vertue.* These and such like were *Galba*'s Expressions (says *Tacitus*) to *Piso*, as to a Private Person, whom he was about to make an Absolute Prince, but all the rest he spoke as to a Prince already Enthron'd. To let us understand that *Galba* spoke to the Person of the Prince, whereas Sycophants make their Addresses only to his Fortune: That the first Admonish'd him, as a Father and a Prince; but that others Flatter'd him, as the Person that already was their Lord and Master: That Subjects are only capable of Flattery,

flattery, because they only seek to please; whereas the Prince who makes his Choice of a Successor, bespeaks him cordially and sincerely, and gives him no other then only the best of Counsel.

ESSAY LVXXIII.

THE most Favour'd of his enfranchiz'd Slaves, and other Servants, laid before him the Pomp of *Nero*'s Court, his Luxury, his Adulteries, his Divorces, and incestuous Wedlocks, and all those other Pleasures of Imperial Reign, all which he thirst'd after, and which if he had the Courage, were his own; but if he trifled away his Opportunity, would be another's.

His principal Domestics, (says *D'Ablancourt*) *ceas'd not to lay before him the Luxury and Licence of Princes, and to upbraid him secretly, for abandoning to another, that which was in his power to seize as his own.*

Thus

Thus we see the gay Allurements that Sycophants make use of to provoke the Appetites of Princes, and incense 'em to Luxury. This is that which they call, *Releasing Kings from the Subjection of Wardship*; but indeed (says *Mezeray*) *Is the putting them beside their Sences and their Reason.* *Otho* had spent his Youth in Debauchery, and had insinuated himself into *Nero*'s Favour and Confidence, by the imitation of his Voluptuousness and Vices. *Piso*, on the other side, had always liv'd a sober Life, and without Scandal, but the severity of his Manners, which pleas'd *Galba*, displeas'd the old Court, which *Nero* had accustom'd to honour a Voluptuous Prince, no less then formerly they were wont to reverence a Prudent and Moderate Sovereign. Therefore it was that *Otho*, who was of the same temper with *Nero*, and as such a one, desir'd by all the Courtiers, was so highly encourag'd by his Domestics, and his Friends, to take Possession of the Empire. For the looser and more extravagant sort of Courtiers are afraid of nothing more then a Vertuous and Vigilant Prince, because their Interest is incompatible with his Duty. *The young King* (says *Mezeray*, speaking of *Charles* VIII.) *was natu-*

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rally enclin'd to the ſtudy of Vertue, addicting himſelf, as much as his leiſure would permit him, to the reading of good Authors, and to converſe with learned Men. But the Sycophant, to whoſe humour, a ſerious and prudent Prince is a burthenſom Maſter, before the Year was out, plung'd him again into the love of Toys and Women.

I find moreover two or three things more to be obſerv'd upon the Choice which *Galba* made of *Piſo* to ſucceed him, rather then *Otho*, who being the firſt who had declar'd himſelf for *Galba*, was in hopes to have been adopted for his Son. The firſt is, that *Galba* rather choſe to expoſe himſelf to *Otho*'s Reſentment, to whom he was ſo highly oblig'd, then to advance to the Empire a Perſon, who was guilty of all *Nero*'s Vices; conſidering, that would be of little benefit to the Publick-weal to have eſcap'd *Nero*'s Violencies, ſhould it relapſe under the power of his Companion in Debauchery. The ſecond thing is, that Vertuous Princes make it their chiefeſt Glory to chooſe a good Succeſſor; whereas a bad Prince endeavours to find a worſe then himſelf, to the end he may be miſs'd, when gone. *Auguſtus* (ſaid *Galba* to *Piſo*) *made Choice of a Succeſſor out of his own Family, but I*

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chooſe mine out of the Commonwealth: Not that I am deſtitute either of Kindred or Friends, but becauſe of all my own and thine, thou ſeem'ſt to me moſt worthy to be the Heir of my Fortune. My Age permits me not to do the Roman *People any other kindneſs, but only to leave them a Vertuous Succeſſor. But thou who art in the flower of thy Youth, haſt it within thy power to bleſs 'em with a Vertuous Prince and long Tranquility.* The Younger *Pliny* tells us, that *Nerva* was belov'd and lamented by all good Men, for that he had made ſuch Proviſion, that no body ſhould have cauſe to miſs him, and being a moſt worthy Prince himſelf, he was not afraid to make Choice of one that might exceed him. And in another Place he ſays, That a good Succeſſor is a moſt evident Mark of the Divinity of the Prince that makes the Election.

The laſt thing is, the difference between the Advice which Princes give to their Succeſſors, and that which Sycophants give to Princes. When a Prince admoniſhes another, 'tis his uſual cuſtom to tell him, that Sovereignty is a weighty Burthen, and a Condition above all others moſt ſubject to the Capriccio's of Fortune: That the Higher a man is exalted, the more in danger he ſtands of the Precipice:

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That Power is never truly ſecure, when exceſſive, and rarely longer permanent then the Life of him that exerciſes it: That there is nothing in the World ſo unſtable, or ſo difficult to preſerve, as the Fame of Power that reſts not on its proper foundation, of Juſtice and Reaſon: That it is impoſſible for a Prince to know or act all things himſelf, and therefore had need of good Counſel and Aſſiſtance: That his Miniſters and He, tranſacting unanimouſly together, the Public affairs will be better manag'd: That he ought not to ſtudy Dominion over Slaves, but equal Government over Children and Subjects accuſtom'd to rational and not to blind Obedience: That Loyal Subjects never grudge to pay Taxes or Impoſitions, but ill brook the Violence, the Cruelty and Avarice of the Officers: That a Government cannot long ſubſiſt between injuſt Command and forc'd Obedience. I do not Intereſt my ſelf, ſaid *Tiberius*, in the Choice of Edils, Pretors or Conſuls; ſomething greater and more ſublime is expected from a Prince; nor do I make uſe of Power, where I can act by Law. Then he goes on, that Liberality, when exceſſive, proves pernicious, as forcing to repair by Injuſtice, what Extravagancy has

has diſſipated; That Clemency advances the Reputation of Princes; and that having all things at their Command, there remains nothing for them to deſire more, then only to Eternize their Happy Memories. Theſe are the Temples, thoſe the Noble Statues, ſaid *Tiberius*, that I deſire to be erected in your minds; for as for thoſe that are built of Stone, ſhould I deſerve the hatred of ſucceeding Ages, they would be ſcorn'd, and ſoon defac'd.

On the other ſide, Sycophants infuſe into the ears of Princes, that they have not only an Abſolute Power, but a Univerſal Underſtanding, and that their Subjects can pretend to nothing but only the Honour of a blind Obedience: That the Will and Pleaſure of a Prince, is the Rule of Juſtice, and by conſequence, that all the Actions of Kings are Infallibly Juſt: That a Prince who Governs according to Laws, is only a Precarious Prince; and that he who liſtens to the Advice of his Counſel, is a Pupil: That all ways and means whatever which conduce to the preſervation of Authority, are honeſt and lawful, provided they be ſucceſsful: That the Impov'riſhing of the People, and keeping the Nobility Low, are the main Pillars of Imperial Power. That

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Privileges, Exemptions and Moderate Taxes ſerve only to render the People untractable and mutinous; whereas they are ſupple, ſubmiſs and yielding, when they have nothing to loſe: That Luxury, Adulteries, Revelling and choice of Women, are the Rewards of Principality: That it is of little importance to be belov'd, but of great moment to be fear'd; for that Fear is ſupported by the dread of Puniſhment, which never ceaſes; but that Love is preſerv'd only by a certain tie of Complaiſance, which Men as often break, as fancy and humour inſpire 'em: That Clemency is a dangerous Vertue, and Modeſty fitting only for a Citizens Wife. And laſtly, That Princes never need take any care what Poſterity ſays of 'em, as being no competent Judge of the Truth or Falſhood of thoſe that applaud or diſcommend, ſince 'tis the Fate of Hiſtorians, to be always ſuſpected either of Flattery or Malice.

ESSAY LXXIX.

THen from all Parts of the City, as *Othonians* met *Othonians*, ſome augmented the general Fears, others minc'd the Truth, not then refraining from their wonted Adulation.

Says D'Ablancourt; *People crouded together from all Parts of the City, ſome augmenting the danger, others leſſening it as much, not forgetting their uſual Flattery even in that extremity.*

Otho was Proclaim'd Emperor, and *Galba* now no longer in Poſſeſſion of the Sovereignty; nevertheleſs there were ſome People that Flatter'd the Unfortunate Prince, as if after he had loſt the Empire, he had ſomething of higher Advantage to loſe. An evident proof, that Sycophants never can find in their hearts to ſpeak ſincerely to Princes; and that Princes are Flatter'd, becauſe 'tis the Mode, without the leaſt anxiety for their good

good or ill ſucceſs. Sycophants never tell 'em any thing but what is grateful, tho' it be ne'er ſo prejudicial. They who ſooth'd up *Galba* at ſuch a Conjuncture, when the preſervation of the Imperial Dignity, and his Life lay at ſtake, were ſo much the more to blame, in regard they knew that *Galba* was always deſirous that the Truth ſhould be told him, as one that deteſted Flattery; and that his Safety then depended upon true Intelligence of the imminent danger. But in ſhort, it is the Fate of Princes to be deluded, even to the laſt minute of their Lives. *Mezeray* tells us, That after the *French* had loſt the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, between *Padua* and *Milaine* the moſt prudent Captains (and particularly *Lewis de la Tremouille*) were of opinion, that *Francis* the Firſt ſhould raiſe his Siege, laying before him, *That his Army was waſted a third part more then he was made believe it was; that five thouſand* Griſons *had deſerted him, under pretence of going to defend their own Country againſt the* Milaneſes, *who perhaps with their connivance, had taken* Clavenna *from them; and that the Enemies Army, for want of Pay, would certainly Disband within fifteen days at farthest. But thoſe Reaſons were not of force*

ſufficient to alter his Reſolutions. The Sycophantries of his Favourites, over-rul'd the Counſels of his Experienc'd Captains. And that was the reaſon that his Enemies, not able any longer to keep their Forces in a Body reſolv'd to give the King Battel; who was there taken Priſoner, together with the Chief Nobility of the Kingdom. So that it was held for Prophetical, what a Jeſter told the King, when he had concluded upon the War of *Italy*: *Sir* (ſaid he) *your Counſellors ſeem to me, to be a company of Fools. They ſay very true, that your Majeſty ſhall enter* Italy; *but they do not tell you how you ſhall get out again.*

ESSAY LXXX.

I Shall not boaſt of my Nobility or Moderation (ſaid *Piſo* to the Pretorians,) nor is there any neceſſity for me to diſpute my Vertues in competition with *Otho*. His Vices, in which he only glories, ruin'd the Empire, even then, when he acted *Nero*'s Friend.

Says D'Ablancourt; *There was no need for*

for him to urge his Vertues there, nor thoſe of his Anceſtors, in compariſon with Otho's *vices, which had ruin'a the Empire, when he was no more then a private Perſon. But this does not expreſs the ſenſe of* Tacitus (Cum amicum Imperatinis Agecet) *by which he plainly gives us to underſtand, that* Otho *was* Nero's *Confident, and the Pandar to his Pleaſures, and conſequently the cauſe of the Diſorders of his Reign.*

To be a good Prince, 'tis not ſufficient for him to be only better then one that has been very vicious. *Otho* had liv'd a life ſo licentious, while he was one of *Nero*'s Courtiers, that *Piſo*, whoſe Manners were without reproach, would have thought himſelf diſhonour'd to have made a Parallel between his Deſerts, and *Otho*'s Vices. On the other ſide, Sycophants obſerve this method, that when a Prince is guilty of thoſe Miſcarriages which are abhorr'd by all the World, they ſtill amuſe 'em with ſtories of the Vices of his Predeceſſors, or of ſuch and ſuch Princes living at the ſame time; which they aggravate to that degree, that his own ſeem *Peccadillo's* and Trifles in reſpect of their Enormities. Whence it comes to paſs, that inſtead of Amendment, he grows Worſe. And

therefore if it were true that *Comines* ſpoke thoſe words to *Lewis* XI. whoſe Favourite he was, which he repeats in his *Memoire*, we may ſuſpect him to have been as much a Sycophant as any of the Reſt.

Comines, *ſays* Mezeray, *repreſents him extremely prudent in Adverſity, on that penetrated to a Miracle into the Intereſts and Thoughts of Men, and then made a dextrous uſe of 'em to his own ends, ragingly ſuſpitious and jealous of his Power; abſolute in his Will; Inexorable; a terrible Oppreſſor of his Subjects, and yet one of the beſt Princes of his Time.*

Certainly the reſt were then moſt hainous Criminals, or elſe *Comines* was a great Sycophant. As for what *Piſo* ſaid; that *Otho* had a mind to the Empire in the Reign of *Nero*, whoſe chiefeſt Confident he had been, for three or four Years together, thereby we are inſtructed that Sycophants (for *Otho*, while a private Perſon, was his Crafts-maſter in that goodly Calling) are the common Peſts of Kingdoms, by reaſon of the pernicious Counſels which they infuſe into the Ears of Princes, which is the reaſon that *Tacitus* calls 'em the Corrupters of Government, and Pedagogues of Tyranny.

ES-

ESSAY LXXXI.

NOR was it Judgment or Truth that ſway'd their Affections, but according to Cuſtom, licence of Acclamation, and a habit of Flattering any Perſon whatſoever.

Says D'Ablancourt, *'Tis neither Affection nor Judgment, but Cuſtom and Flattery.* Far ſhort of the Author's ſenſe.

There are very few Princes that are belov'd, or indeed that can eſcape Irrational and Bruitiſh Hate: But they are all Flatter'd without exception. For that Flattery never makes its Addreſſes to the Perſon, generally the Objects of it will, but to their Fortune which is always ador'd; *Galba* was deſpis'd becauſe of his Old Age, and hated for his Severity, and his Covetouſneſs: Nevertheleſs, both People and Grandees could not forbear to Flatter him, while they demanded *Otho*'s Life, and the Baniſhment of all his Accomplices, ſo long as they thought the

Conſpiracy would be cruſh'd before it got to a head. And when the Report was ſpread abroad that *Otho* was kill'd, they not only expreſs'd their Joy by public Acclamations and Congratulations, but a great number of the Knights and Senators who thought *Otho* dead, crouded to the Palace to Congratulate him, bemoaning their hard Fortune, that had reſcu'd *Otho* from their Revenge. An evident Example to teach us how little truſt or heed there is to be given to the fair words or ſervices of Sycophants, and how unwary thoſe Princes are that put their Confidence on ſuch weak and failing Support: They were therefore in the Right, who to encourage *Flavius Salinus* to take up Arms for his Brother *Veſpatian* againſt *Vitellius*, told him, that the People, who ſeem'd to love *Vitellius*, would change both their Opinions and their Notes, ſo ſoon as he ſhould declare himſelf; and that all the Flatteries, and Acclamations, which the Multitude hollow'd forth to *Vitellius*, would as loudly fill the Fire and Honour of *Veſpatian*, ſo ſoon as they found the ſtrength of his Party.

ESSAY LXXXII.

OF Menaces an undaunted Contemner; impenetrable to Flattery.

Says D'Ablancourt; *Invincible both to Flattery and Fear.*

The greateſt part of Princes make a much ſtouter Reſiſtance againſt Fear then Flattery. For Menaces provoke their Courage; but Adulation poyſons the very Mind, and depraves their Inclinations: *Menaces* waken 'em, ſoft and ſoothing Sycophantry lulls 'em aſleep. And they lend an ear the more willingly to their Sycophants, in regard that Complaiſance being one of the Properties of Love, they believe themſelves to be belov'd by thoſe that pleaſe their Humour. *Cabrera* tells us, that *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, had a cuſtom to interrupt his Sycophants with this Expreſſion, *Dex ad eſſo, y de zid lo que importa:* Let this alone, and talk ſomething to the purpoſe. Words that become the Lips of all Princes, to whom

their Sycophants never prattle other then what is either Prejudicial or Unprofitable. Beſides, that if Princes would not liſten to their Stories, but only to matters of Importance, Flatterers would have little or nothing then to ſay.

ESSAY LXXXIII.

ALL throng'd in heaps to the Camp, got before the next, ſtrove to out-run the formoſt, upbraided *Galba*, extoll'd the Soldiers Judgment, kiſs'd *Otho*'s Hand; and the greater their Diſſimulation was, the more was the Buſtle and the Ceremony.

Says D'Ablancourt, *Every one made haſte before his Companion to get to the Camp, where the Curs'd* Galba, *applauded the Soldiers, and kiſs'd* Otho's *Hand, redoubling their Careſſes, the more feign'd they were.*

What I have already obſerv'd in the IV. and LXXXI. Articles may ſerve for an Explanation of this, and therefore

I ſhall add no more then one ſingle Reflection of *Particulars*, which is, That Flattery is for the moſt part attended by Treachery. For in regard that Sycophants adore the Fortune only, not the Perſon of the Prince, they ſoon exchange their *Perſon*, when the *Perſon* exchanges once his Fortune. Witneſs their Invectives againſt *Galba*, meerly to reconcile themſelves to *Otho*, whoſe Life they had demanded but ſome few Hours before, for a Sacrifice to their fury. So that *Tacitus* might well ſay, that whoever had beheld thoſe Hurries, would never have believ'd but that they had been another Gang of People, and quite another Senate. Which brings to my remembrance what a *Roman* Senator ſaid to *Plancus*, who was Secretary to *Antonius*, who accus'd his Maſter and his Benefactor of ſeveral Crimes, after he had been one of his moſt obſequious Flatterers. *Certainly*, ſaid he, Antonius *muſt have committed a world of wicked Actions, the day before thou left'ſt him.* Thus it is with Sycophants, while the Prince's Liberality and Favours laſt, they Deifie him; but when he either grows weary of their Company, or by any Misfortune to be depriv'd of his Grandeur, they are the firſt

to render and leave his Reputation. So true it is, that all ſorts of Friends never believe themſelves to be any way concern'd in Gratitude to thoſe who are in Adverſity; or that the Fidelity of thoſe that have receiv'd the greateſt Favours, is of any longer permanency then the good Fortune of their Benefactor.

ESSAY LXXXIV.

THE Magiſtrates contend to outvie each other in Adulation: The Fathers flock in haſte to the Senate: The Tribunitial Power: The Title of *Auguſtus*, and all the reſt of the Imperial Dignities, are decreed *Otho*; every one ſtriving to bury in Oblivion the ſcurrilous Invectives and opprobrious Language that had been promiſcuoſly beſtowed upon his Reputation before.

Says D'Ablancourt; *The Pretor aſſembl'd the Senate, where the principal Men ſtrive to outvie each other in Submiſſion and Flattery. They bequeath* Otho *the Tribunitial Authority,*

Authority, the Title of Augustus, *and all the rest of the Imperial Honours, in hopes he might forget the Affront and Injuries he had receiv'd.*

Injuries done to Princes, are always repair'd by excess of Flatteries; and that so much the rather, because that sort of Reparation costs the Sycophants nothing, who have neither Honour nor Shame to expend. And then again, the Dread which terrifie the *Roman* Grandees, lest *Otho* should revenge their former Obloquies, and abusive Scurrility, serves as a Document to Great Personages to keep within the bounds of Decency in season of Turbulency and Disorder, when the Common People let loose the reigns of Vulgar Malice and Contempt. The People are always exempted, by reason of their number. On the other side, the Nobility are always expos'd, by reason of their Wealth, which causes all their Words and Actions to be narrowly scann'd and pry'd into. The People however are over-joy'd when such Ring-leaders once abet, encourage and accompany their Insolence: Tho' indeed, it should be the confideration of Great Personages, that the Favour of the *Mobile*, are

are no ſhelter againſt a Prince's Reſentment. *For to lay a Foundation upon the Multitudes* (ſays *Machiavil*) *is to build upon the Mud.*

ESSAY LXXXV.

Vitellius, among the more prudent and ridgid ſort, was thought to be a Man of a poor and pitiful Spirit; which his Favourers call'd his Affability and Mildneſs, as being a Perſon that ſquander'd away his own, and was no leſs profuſe of other Mens, without either Moderation or Judgment: And thus they interpreted for Vertues, moſt Egregious Vices, in greedy hopes to Command their Maſter.

Says D'Ablancourt; *His readineſs to give away both his own and the Eſtates of other Men, without rule or meaſure, was look'd upon as Liberality and Generoſity, tho' they that cenſur'd more ſeverely, call'd it his Weakneſs and Prodigality. But the eager deſire*

deſire of Dominion, made 'em diſguiſe his Vices under Vertuous Appellations.

Sycophants extol the Vices of Great Men, becauſe it is their Intereſt to foment and cheriſh 'em. So that if Princes had not their Vices, at what a loſs would Flatterers be, who have only that Sally-Port open to creep into their Favour, and only that ſame ignominious means to preſerve what they have once attain'd? The Younger *Pliny* ſays, that Princes have no need of Maſters to inſtruct 'em to be wicked; yet let 'em be ne'er ſo bad, yet they learn many things which elſe they never would have thought of, had not Sycophants been their Tutors. Nor is there any Vice to which a Prince may be prone, which they more ſeduliouſly labour to foſter and cheriſh, then his Luxury and his Prodigality, in regard they are Perſons that get the largeſt ſhare of his Profuſions. *Henry* III. of *France*, was one of the beſt Princes in the World, but *Francis D'O*, one of his principal Sycophants, and as an addition to the King's Misfortune, *Super-intendent* of his Exchequer, made ſwift haſte to corrupt and vitiate his good Nature. *He was a Perſon* (ſays *Dlozeray*) *entirely devoted to Luxury,*

Luxury, who every day perſuaded the King to make new Edicts, which were called Burſal, *and to go to the Parliament, by his Preſence to force their Confirmation. And this was one of the chief Cauſes of the ruine of that Prince, by his loſing inſenſibly that Reſpect and Affection which the People had for him: Nor did the Heads of the* LEAGUE *fail to make their advantage of it, by augmenting their Contempt and Averſion to his Perſon. To which the Inſolency of his Favourites did not a little contribute, who acted the parts of more then Sovereign Princes, and diſpos'd of all things with an abſolute Will and Pleaſure.*

ESSAY LXXXVI.

A Loud ſhout enſu'd and the Acclamations of the People no leſs immoderate then diſſembl'd: As if they had been pouring forth their Wiſhes for the Proſperity of *Cæſar* the *Dictator*, or the Emperor *Auguſtus*; with equal ſtrife did they implore the Gods for the Proſperity of his Expedition; not out of Fear or Love, but an inflam'd deſire of Servitude. Says

Says D'Ablancourt; *The Oration was receiv'd with great applauſe, and attended by the feign'd and exceſſive Praiſes, as if they had been to honour the Departure of* Cæſar Auguſtus; *and this not for Fear or Affection, but by the inſtinct of Cuſtom and Flattery.*

I have obſerv'd in ſeveral places, that Flattery and Love are incompatible, and never makes its Addreſſes but only to the Fortune of Princes. So that altho' *Otho* fell ſhort of *Cæſar*'s Worth, or the Merits of *Auguſtus*, nevertheleſs the People pay'd him the ſame Honours which they would have render'd to either of Them, becauſe he was exalted to the ſame Dignity. For the People meaſure their Reputation by the preſent Grandeur of the Prince, and not by his Credit and Reputation, of which they are not capable to judge. They deſpis'd *Galba*, for that being Old, his Reign could be of no long endurance. On the other ſide, *Otho*, far inferior to *Galba* for his Parts and Integrity, was reverenc'd becauſe his Youth promis'd a long Reign.

ESSAY. LXXXVII.

OTHO was desirous of Battel: And his Brother *Titianus*, and *Proculus* the Captain of his Guards, as being Persons of little Experience in War urg'd him on; assuring him that as Fortune, the Gods and *Otho*'s Genius were present at his Councils, so would they also assist his Enterprises: A piece of Flattery which they made use of, lest any one should oppose their Advice.

Otho (says D'Ablancourt) *was willing to give Battel, seconded by his Brother, and the chief of the Pretorian Courtiers, who spurr'd him on for want of Experience, and cry'd out, That the Gods who had assisted* Otho *in managing the Design, would never abandon him in the execution of it; adding Flattery to Impatience, lest any one should presume to oppose 'em.*

There is no sort of Flattery so bad, as that which precipitates a Prince to the rash

raſh and over-haſty execution of a Deſign, where there can be no miſcarriage twice committed. In the moſt Important Affairs of Private Perſons, there is always ſome hope, or ſomething of laſt remedy, to which he may have recourſe; ſo that a Man with the abſolute ruine of himſelf, may try a ſecond Fortune. But the Affairs of Princes, eſpecially ſuch as are advanc'd of a ſudden from a Private Condition to Abſolute Dominion, and whoſe unſtable Fortune is ſtill upon the Totter, are ſubject to ſo many Accidents, and depend upon ſo many Circumſtances, that the ſmalleſt Error is enough to unhinge the whole Frame of their Deſigns for ever. Hiſtory furniſhes us with a remarkable Example of the Fatality of Sycophant Advice in the Perſon of *Francis* Doke of *Anjou*, Brother to *Henry* III. of *France*, who loſt *Flanders* and *Brabant* by miſcarrying in his Deſign upon *Antwerp*. *They, by whom he was more particularly govern'd* (ſays *Mezeray*) *were Perſons without Honour or Fidelity, among the reſt* Quinſay *his Secretary*, Fervaques, *and* Aurilly *his Son in-Law, the Son of a Serjeant of* La Terte *near* Blois, *with his Playing upon the Lute, his Voice, his Dancing, and ſuch other Effeminate Qualities, more proper*

for

for the Affection of a Young Lady, then a Great Prince, had rais'd to the highest degree of his Master's Favour. These People keeping him still at defiance with the Duke of Montpensier, *and other Men of Honour, spurr'd him on continually to make himself Master of those Towns and Places of which he promis'd them the Government.* For the Counsels of Sycophants are always byas'd. And for that reason it is that all Princes, who lay the Foundations of great Designs, ought seriously to deliberate, whether their intended Enterprises will turn to their Honour, and the Benefit of the Public; whether the Execution will be easie; or at least, whether it be not beyond their Strength and their Industry; and, whether they that advize 'em, have Courage and Fidelity enough to venture equal Dangers with 'em and for 'em: For many times they happen to Engage themselves in a War, of which they know not how to make an Honourable end when they have begun it: In regard that if they repent, their coming fairly off is in the power of another. Besides that, their own Authority lessens, as the Reputation of their Generals encreases. Therefore *Tiberius* rather chose to terminate his Differences by Treaty, then by Arms;

Arms; and always conceal'd his Loſſes upon the Frontiers of the Empire, becauſe he would not be oblig'd to give the Command of his Armies to Perſons that might find him work at home. *There is not the ſame equality of Proſperity and Adverſity* (ſaid *Mucianus* to *Veſpatian*) *between Thee and Me: For if we Vanquiſh, I ſhall enjoy no more Honour, then what thou wilt be willing to confer upon me. But if we fail in our Enterprize, we ſhall ſhare alike in our Misfortune.* All Generals ſpeak the ſame words; but when once they become Victors, they change their Language, and many times their pretenſions are too exceſſive, that their Victory would prove a Burthen to the Prince and State, ſhould they be gratify'd to the utmoſt of their demands. For, according to the ſaying of *M. de la Rochefoucauld*, *'Tis a difficult thing for a Man to contain himſelf within the limits of Moderation, after the performance of great Services, which inſpire ſublimer Thoughts of Rule and Dominion into thoſe that never think their Merits rewarded to the full. Then as to the point of giving Battel* (ſays *Comines*) *whoever he be, it is expedient for him to conſider, before he hazards his Kingdom upon a Battel; for the loſs of a ſmall number of Men, diſmays the Courages*

Courages of all the reſt beyond belief; and inſtead of terrifying the Enemy, begets a Contempt of the Loſer. And ſome few lines after, *Let it be how it will, a Battel loſt, draws a large Train behind it, to the prejudice of whoever is vanquiſh'd.* And in another place (ſpeaking of *Lewis* XI.) *The King,* ſaid he, *whatever could be ſaid or argu'd to the contrary, was reſolv'd he would not Fight, as being reſolv'd not to venture the Fortune of a Battel.* And in my Opinion, he took the moſt prudent courſe. To conclude, I ſhall only add one ſingle Reflexion more, and more remarkable then the former, out of the ſame *Comines*, upon another uſual piece of Adulation which Flatterers daily inſinuate into the ears of Princes, that they ſhould rely upon their own good Fortune, and deſpiſe their Enemies. *A notable Example,* ſays he, (ſpeaking of *Edward* IV. King of *England*, who was driven out of his Kingdom in fifteen days,) *for Princes to take notice of, who pretend to be always fearleſs of their Enemies, and to diſdain and ſcorn an Armed Foe. 'Tis true, the chiefeſt part of their Courtiers, uphold 'em in their vain Conceits, to pleaſe their Humours: And they think they are to be eſteem'd and valu'd for it; and that People will applaud 'em for their courageous advice.*

But

But the wiſer ſort look upon thoſe Rodomontadoes as meer Folly; ſince it is a vertue to fear with Prudence, and provide againſt it. 'Tis a great Treaſure for a Prince to have a Wiſe Man at his Elbow, provided he believe him, and that he have *permiſſion to tell him the Truth.* For no Perſon is more likely to Ruine himſelf, then he that lays aſide all Fear, his Security and Confidence being generally the beginning of his Deſtruction.

ESSAY LXXXVIII.

Titianus and *Proculus* being over-rul'd in their Counſels, betook themſelves to the Prerogative of their Generalſhip.

Says D'Ablancourt, *They ſeeing that they were vanquiſh'd by Reaſon, fled to the Authority and Commands of the Emperour.*

Otho had in his Army three, the moſt Prudent and moſt Experienc'd Captains of that Age, *Suetonius Paulinus*, *Annius Gallus*, and *Marius Celſus*, who were all three of a contrary opinion to *Titian* and

and *Proculus*, That it was not the safest course to give *Vitellius* Battel; alledging that *Vitellius* had all the reason in the world to be desirous of Combat, and *Otho* to spin out the time in delay; for that the Enemy had all the Force he could make, as not being out of hopes of any Succour from *Gallia*, that began already to totter; nor could they expect any Recruits from the *Rhine*, which would be then expos'd to the Incursions of the *Barbarians*; that his supplies out of *England* had the Seas to cross, and an Enemy to oppose 'em already; that *Spain* had but few Soldiers. That *Gallia Narbonensis* was sufficiently Infested by *Otho*'s Navy, and had not yet forgot the misfortune of their last Engagement: That the Army of *Vitellius* lay enclos'd between the *Po*, and the *Alpes*, without any hopes of Relief by Sea, and could not subsist long in a Country harrass'd as that had been, by the continual March of so many Legions; that if they could but spin out the War till Summer, the very change of the Climate would bring Diseases among the *Germans*, who were the most hardy Soldiers among all the *Vitellians*; and that many Armies who have driven all before 'em at first, had been forc'd to dissipate for

for want of meeting an Enemy to fight with. On the other ſide, that *Otho* had plenty of all things; that *Pannonia*, *Moeſia*, *Dalmatia*, and all the Eaſt were at his Devotion, with numerous Succours; and more then all this, that he had *Rome* at his back, the Seat and Rudder of the whole Empire; together with the favour of the Senate, whoſe Majeſty had been always held in Veneration, tho' it might be for a time Ecclips'd; that the Immenſe Treaſures which he had in his Poſſeſſion, would ſoon render him Maſter of the whole; in regard that Money was far more prevalent in a Civil War, then the edge of the Sword; that the Soldiers were accuſtom'd to the heats of *Italy*: That the River *Po* was a ſufficient ſtop to impead the farther march of the Enemy, upon which he had ſeveral Cities well Fortifi'd and Garriſons, which as he found already by the Reſiſtance that *Placentia* had made, would with no leſs Vigour and Fidelity oppoſe the Enemy: That therefore his buſineſs was to ſpin out the War, or at leaſt to ſtay for the fourteenth Legion, ſo highly eſteem'd for their Valour, together with the Forces out of *Moeſia*, which were all expected within a few days: That then *Otho*

might again deliberate what he had to do, and if he thought it his wiſeſt courſe then to give Battel, he might do it much more to his Advantage, with the Aſſiſtance of that new Reinforcement.

Theſe Reaſons were ſo Convincing, that neither *Titianus* nor *Proculus* had any thing to reply. But in regard that *Otho* was ſo extreamly deſirous of Battel, as one that was impatient of Languiſhing ſo long between Hope and Fear, both *Titianus* and *Proculus* Flatter'd him to his Deſtruction, by telling him, that all things would give way to his Fortune. A piece of Sycophantiſm, that was one of the principal Cauſes of his Ruine; whereas if they had liſten'd to the wholeſome Advice of *Paulinus* and his Collegues, *Otho* might have been perſuaded to have chang'd his Reſolution. But that which is here moſt obſervable is this, that *Proculus* (as it is the cuſtome of Favourites, and Sycophants) had not only a particular Antipathy againſt thoſe three Generals, to whom he was inferiour both in Probity and Underſtanding, but made it his buſineſs to Calumniate, the high Reputation of *Paulinus*, *Celſus*'s vigour, and the accompliſh'd Experience of *Gallus*; ſo that being now miſtruſted

and

and ſuſpected by their Soveraign, they were only Nominal Generals, whoſe unhappineſs and chief perplexity it was, to ſee their Prudence made a Cloak to cover the Miſcarriages and Ignorance of others. A misfortune that happens too often in the Courts of Princes, that ſuffer themſelves to be made a Prey to the paſſions of their Favourites.

ESSAY LXXXIX.

THE Death of *Otho* being known, the Senate preſently decreed him all thoſe Honours that had been ſtudy'd in the longeſt Reigns of Preceding Princes. A return of Thanks was alſo order'd to the *German* Armies, and Commiſſioners were ſent likewiſe to Officiate their Obſequious Congratulations.

Says D'Ablancourt, *The Senate heap'd upon the new Emperour all the Honours, which others had obtain'd during a long Reign, and order'd Thanks to the* German *Legions, with*

a Deputation to the Prince, to Congratulate his coming to the Imperial Crown.

Here are three Things to be obſerv'd. Firſt, That upon the firſt intelligence of *Otho*'s death, and that the Soldiers had ſworn Allegiance to *Vitellius*, at the Inſtigation of the Governour of the City, the People Crown'd with Flowers and Lawrel Garlands, carry'd the Images of *Galba* round the Temples as it were in Proceſſion; and paſſing by the place where he had ſpilt his Blood, they cover'd it with a Pyramid of Garlands, as it were to Erect him a Monument. Which was done to blacken *Otho*'s Memory, who had wreſted from him both the Empire and his Life; and in Honour to *Vitellius*, who ſeem'd to be the Avenger of his Death.

The ſecond Thing is, That when Tidings were brought to *Rome* of the *Revolt* of the *German* Legions, and the Election of *Vitellius* to the Empire, the Senate and People of *Rome* openly declar'd the Calamity of the Commonwealth, which was fallen into the hands of two, the Vileſt and moſt Infamous Perſons in the World. Shall we repair to the Temples cry'd they, to offer up our Pray-

Prayers for *Otho* or *Vitellius?* Certainly, moſt Impious and Deteſtable will be our Devotions, either for the one or the other of thoſe two Rivals, of which two whoever proves the Victor, will be ſtill the worſer Nevertheleſs the ſame Senate and People that Curs'd *Otho* and *Vitellius*, as two Subjects fatally elected the Ruine of the Empire, now decreed to *Vitellius* thoſe Honours which were never given to *Auguſtus* himſelf So ſtrangely do Sycophants and Flatterers differ from themſelves, and ſo ſubject are they like Bulruſhes, to bend with every wind of the Court.

A third Remark is this, That when the two Armies that had Proclaim'd theſe two Emperours, came to underſtand how unfit they were to manage ſo high an Employment, and conſequently began to repent of the bad Choice they had made ſo much to their Diſhonour, preſently ſome time before *Otho*'s death, they fell to deliberate Conſiderations about a Reconciliation one among another, for the Election of an Emperour to the general Satisfaction, and to reſtore Peace and Concord to the Empire. For the Senate therefore to give] the *German* Legions thanks for the Choice which they had

made of *Vitellius*, the Scorn and Contempt of Mankind, was one of the pooreſt and meaneſt Condeſcenſions imaginable. And thus you ſee there is nothing ſo vile and abject, which Flattery will not ſtoop to.

ESSAY XC.

But when the Army importun'd him to honour with the Dignity of Knighthood his Enfranchiz'd Vaſſal *Aſiaticus*, he reprov'd their Immodeſt Flattery.

Says D'Ablancourt; *But upon the requeſt of the Army, to make his Enfranchiz'd Slave a Knight of* Rome, *he put a ſtop to their Flattery.*

'Tis one of the meaneſt and the loweſt condeſcenſions of Flatterers, to ſeek to ingratiate themſelves with the Prince, by ſoliciting the Intereſts and Aggrandizement of ſuch as they know to be their Favourites, tho' Perſons of never ſo baſe an Extraction, without Merit or Honour. In the Fifty fourth and Fifty fifth Princi-

pal-

pal Heads, we have diſcours'd at large of all the ſervile Flatteries, to which the Senate ſtoop'd, while they labor'd to heap up Honours upon the Enfranchiz'd Vaſſal of *Claudius*. *We Courted* Satrius *and* Pomponius (ſaid a *Roman* Knight to *Tiberius*) *and we held it for an ineſtimable Honour to be accounted then Enfranchiz'd Slaves and Porters to* Sejanus. *Mezeray* reports, *That the Cardinal Chancellor* de Birague, *had a greater eſteem for one of his Lacquies that was his Favourite, then for all the Laws of the Kingdom*: For it was his ſaying, *That he was not the Kingdoms, but the King's Chancellor*. An Expreſſion becoming an *Italian* Sycophant. As for *Vitellius*, we are to obſerve, that after he he had refus'd to grant this favour at the requeſt of his whole Army, which was to beſtow Gold Rings upon *Aſiaticus*, and thereby to dignifie him with the Order of *Roman* Knighthood, yet he conferr'd the Honour upon him afterwards at a great Banquet. So difficult a thing it is for Luxurious Princes to withſtand the force of Flattery, and to guard themſelves from the inſinuating Artifices of certain ſmall Officers that creep into their favour by unwarrantable means, as *Aſiaticus* did. Therefore it was the ſaying of the Youn-

ger *Pliny*, That a Prince who preferrs mean and abject People, can be no great Prince himſelf. And in another place he thus addreſſes himſel to *Trajan*. *Tho' thou beſtow'ſt the marks of thy favour upon thy Enfranchiz'd Vaſſals, yet they are no other then ſuch as are only convenient for their Quality. Thou form'ſt 'em ſo, and haſt ſuch an eye over 'em, that they dare not preſume to meaſure themſelves by thine, but by their own Fortune.*

ESSAY XCI.

BEing heard, they made uſe of Juſtifications rather uſeful then ſeemly: For they acknowledg'd themſelves guilty of Treachery to *Otho*, of their own accords; as if they had deſign'd the long march of the Army before the Battel, the Tiring of the *Othonians*, and the Peſtering the Battalions with Carriages on purpoſe, and attributed to their own perfidiouſneſs ſeveral fortuitous Events, which only Chance produc'd.

There-

Thereupon *Vitellius* ſeem'd to believe their Perfidie, and abſolv'd 'em from the Crime of forfeited Fidelity to *Otho*.

Paulinus and *Proculus* (ſays D'Ablancourt) *had Audience, and defended themſelves by Excuſes not ſo honeſt as neceſſary: For they aſcrib'd to their own Cunning the long march of the Army before the Battel, and the encumbrances of the Baggage, with ſeveral other accidents of Fortune, to make out their Fidelity to* Vitellius *by a ſuppos'd Betraying of* Otho.

Behold an Example of what I have in other places alledg'd, that Flattery is always byaſs'd by Intereſt. *Paulinus* and *Proculus* rather choſe to be accounted Traytors, then Perſons of Honour. Becauſe their Treaſon was a meritorious act, and advantagious to *Vitellius*, and by conſequence ſecur'd 'em from his Indignation. Another Prince then *Vitellius*, who had no ſentiments of Generoſity, would have deſpis'd their Submiſſions. For if Traytors are odious to themſelves, whoſe Party they embrace, the ſuppos'd Traytors, that is to ſay, they who to ingratiate

tiate themſelves with the new Prince, falſly accuſe themſelves to have betray'd his Rival, are no leſs Treacherous and Criminal then others. And for that reaſon *Tacitus* tells us, That the Juſtifications of *Paulinus* and *Proculus*, were rather ſuch as neceſſity requir'd, then honeſty. For, for a Man to boaſt himſelf a Traytor, to the Perſon to whom he had been Faithful in his Life-time, was an open acknowledgment, that he ne'er was faithful, but for his own Intereſt; and that he only ſtudy'd to enrich himſelf by opportunities of Treachery. For that reaſon it was, that the Conſul *Marius Celſus*, who never ſtirr'd from *Galba*'s Intereſt, frankly confeſsd before *Otho*, that he had always adheard to *Galba*'s Fortune; and that if he liv'd longer, he would have ſerv'd him with an inviolable Fidelity. And that with the ſame integrity he ſtuck to *Otho* againſt *Vitellius*, who nevertheleſs continu'd him in his Conſulſhip, for which another had offerr'd Money. So highly is fidelity eſteem'd by them, that have us'd all their endeavours themſelves to vitiate it in another. And therefore *Tiberius* not only acquitted a perſon that had the courage to acknowledge himſelf one of *Sejanus*'s Friends, and caus'd his

Accuſers

Accuſers to be puniſh'dd with either Death or Exilement. *Auguſtus* had always a high eſteem for *Aſinius Pollio*, tho' he ne'er would attend him to the War of *Actium*; in excuſe of which he gave him ſuch a reaſon, as ever after afterwards excus'd him to his favour. *The good Services* (ſaid he) *which I have done for* Anthony, *are greater then the Benefits which I have receiv'd from Him; but what he has done for me, is better known to the World, then what I did for him: And therefore I leave him to determin your Differences, without declaring for the one or the other, reſolving to be a prey to the Victor.*

Thus Men of Courage always abominate whatever has the leaſt Tincture of Treaſon; whereas Flatterers, who are only the Friends of Fortune, believe themſelves diſingag'd from all Obligations of Loyalty or Fidelity, to thoſe whom She abandons.

E S-

ESSAY XCII.

Vitellius upon the coming of his Brother, and Preceptors of Tyranny creeping into favour, became more lofty and more cruel.

Says D'Ablancourt; Vitellius *became more lofty and more cruel upon the coming of his Brother, and the Courtiers from* Rome, *who taught him to act the the Tyrant. Not to act the Prince, as the Tranſlator erroneouſly renders it; for* Tacitus *and the Younger* Pliny *always oppoſe Domination to Principality.*

I have already told you in ſeveral of the preceding principal Heads, that Sycophants are always of a cruel humor. Which is the reaſon that Princes who liſten to their Charms, cannot chooſe but be very ſanguinary. Nor need we crouds of Examples in this place, to clear what has been ſufficiently made out already.

ESSAY XCIII.

AS *Veſpaſian* came out of the Bed-Chamber, ſome few Soldiers that waited in the next Room, inſtead of ſaluting him, as the Emperor's Lieutenant, bid him *All hail*, by the Title of Emperor. Then crouds of others preſs'd in, and heap'd upon him the Titles of *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, with all thoſe Appellations belonging to Imperial Sovereinty.

Says D'Ablancourt; *As he came out of his Chamber, the Soldiers that were upon the Guard, ſaluted him Emperor; whoſe Examples others follow'd, that came running in ſhoals, and gave him the Names of* Cæſar *and* Auguſtus, *with all thoſe other Titles that are uſually given to Emperors themſelves.*

What has been ſaid already in the 4. 26. 44. 77. 14. & 89. Articles, may ſerve

ſerve as a Commentary ſufficient for Explanation of this. I ſhall here add but only one Reflexion of *Tacitus* himſelf, That the firſt Attempts of Men aſpiring to Sovereign Dominion, are full of dubious Thoughts, and tottering Reſolutions; but when they have once laid violent Hands upon the Throne, they ſhall not want for Encouragement, Counſel and Aſſiſtance.

ESSAY XCIV.

Veſpaſian in the Infancy of his Empire, not being ſo obſtinate in Licencing Injuſtice, till his Indulgent Fortune, and the Flatteries of his Tutors taught him to dare more boldly.

Says D'Ablancourt; *There were nothing but Accuſations of the Rich, and Confiſcations of Eſtates; Violences inſupportable to the People, but excus'd through the neceſſity of the War. Nevertheleſs* Veſpaſian *corrupted by his good Fortune, and inſtructed by his evil Tutors, practic'd the ſame Oppreſſion in Peace toward the end of his Reign, notwith-*

notwithſtanding his Reſerv'dneſs at the beginning.

Avarice was a Vice predominant in *Veſpaſian*, Equal but only for that (ſays *Tacitus*) to the Ancient *Roman* Captains. His Flatterers fomented and cheriſh'd this ſame failing of his, which he had ſome thoughts of reforming at the beginning of his Reign, at which time he carry'd himſelf with ſo much Moderation, that it was ſaid of him, That he was the only Private Perſon advanc'd to Sovereignty, who ever chang'd for the Better. But they that are always at the Elbows of Princes, make it their ſtudy to corrupt and enervate their vertuous Intentions by the force of Pleaſure, which they ſtrive no leſs to make habitual to 'em, that ſo they may have neither leiſure, nor any deſire to look after the Publick Affairs. If Private Men (ſays the Younger *Pliny*) change their Manners and their Conduct in ſo ſhort a time, Princes are more eaſily allur'd to the ſame Effects of Human Frailty, how excellent ſoever their Natural Inclinations may be; becauſe there are ſo few that ſtudy to cultivate and improve thoſe blooming Excellencies, while all Men rather labour on the other ſide, out of ſervile

ſervile Complaiſance, to encourage and augment whatever they diſcover amiſs or irregular in his Diſpoſition. *Francis* I. (ſays *Mazeray*) *had been a moſt Renowned Prince in all particulars, had he not ſuffer'd himſelf ſometimes to be led aſtray by the evil Counſels of his Miniſters, who to advance their own Authority, ſcrew'd up his Prerogative beyond the Anncient Laws of the Kingdom, to irregular Domination.* And that *Henry* II. who was greatly enclin'd to acts of Juſtice, *Was the cauſe of all the Miſchief which they who Govern'd him committed,* in regard he never was the abſolute Maſter of himſelf.

ESSAY XCV.

THE Multitude grew burthenſom through the vaſt number of Senators and Knights that throng'd out of the City to meet him, ſome through Fear, many out of Adulation, the reſt, and all by degrees, leſt others going, they ſhould remain behind.

Add to this (ſays *D'Ablancourt*) *the numerous Train of the Court, always Proud and Inſolent ev'n under the beſt of Princes, all the Senators and Knights, went out to meet him, ſome in Honour to his Perſon, others out of Flattery, or for Fear, and all at length, that they might not be ſeen to remain alone behind.*

The Fourth Article may ſerve as a ſufficient Commentary for this, to which I refer the Reader, to avoid Repetition.

ESSAY XCVI.

THE next day he made a long Harangue in Commendation of Himſelf, wherein he extoll'd his Induſtry and his Temperance with high Encomiums, tho' all that were preſent had been Eye-witneſſes of his Debaucheries, and all *Italy*, through which he had march'd, had ſeen him notorious for his drouſie Luxury and Gluttony. Nevertheleſs the Vulgar, unable to diſtinguiſh between Truth and Falſhood, made a hideous noiſe with

with their Acclamations and Applauſes, and clamour'd to him to accept the Title of *Auguſtus*, which he refus'd.

The next day, ſays D'Ablancourt, *he made a Harange to the People and Senate, wherein he commended his Induſtry and his Temperance, as if he had ſpoken to Strangers, and that all* Italy *had not been able to teſtifie the contrary. The People however, who are accuſtom'd to Flattery, void of all Sentiments of Honour, applauded his Impertinences, and forc'd him to aſſume the Title of* Auguſtus, *which he had refus'd.*

When Princes applaud themſelves, 'tis a ſign they expect to be Extoll'd and Admir'd by thoſe that hear 'em. And Sycophants when they Flatter out of Cuſtome, they never fail to magnifie a bad Prince, who is ſo vain as to commend himſelf. Some there are therefore who have ſtil'd Sycophants the *Eccho of Princes*, and indeed it is a Definition that properly befits 'em; for they always ſpeak whatever the Princes ſay, and always repeat the Princes own words. *Tacitus* reports that *Caligula* affected as much as in him

him lay, all the Expreſſions of *Tiberius*; and then when *Nero* ſang upon the Theatre, all the Company, but more eſpecially, the Senators and *Roman* Ladies extoll'd his Voice, obſerving the ſame Time and Meaſure in their Acclamations that he kept in Singing.

ESSAY XCVII.

BUT neither had *Aponius* written to him the whole Truth, and his Flattering Sycophants made a more ſlight Interpretation of his Intelligence, as being only the Mutiny of one Legion, while all the reſt of the Armies continued in their Obedience.

Says D'Ablancourt, *The firſt Intelligence that* Vitellius *receiv'd of* Veſpaſians *Revolt, was from* Aponius Saturninus, *who ſent him word that the firſt Legion had de-declar'd for his Enemy. But as one that was himſelf aſtoniſh'd at the Action, he had not given him an account of all the particulars; ſo that the Emperour's Favorites made ſlight*

ſlight of the News, aſſuring him that it was only thi Revolt of a ſingle Legion, but that all the reſt continu'd their Fidelity to Himſelf.

This Article is explain'd by the 79. Article, where it is ſaid, That Princes are Flatter'd, even in the moſt Perillous Conjunctures of their Affairs. So far *Vitellius* was well inform'd, that one Legion was already Revolted, but that other piece of Intelligence, ſo abſolutely neceſſary for him to have known, was ſuppreſs'd, that the Legions of *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Judea*, had already Elected and Proclaim'd another Emperour. They made him believe, and he himſelf had divulg'd It among his Soldiers, that there was no fear of a Civil War, and yet at the ſame time there was one already begun, while the Empire was ſhar'd between two Emperours. Then he demanded Succours from the *Germans*, the *Engliſh* and the *Spaniards*, and yet not one of thoſe Provinces made haſte to ſend him any, in regard that through the pernicious Councels of his Flatterers, he diſſembl'd the preſent neceſſity of his Affairs. A piece of Diſſimulation which *Tacitus* calls Impertinent, while it delays

lays the Remedy inſtead of putting a ſtop to the Diſtemper: 'Tis very probable, that *Portugal* had ſtill been ſubject to the Crown of *Spain* if the *Conde D'Olivares*, Chief Miniſter to *Philip the Fourth*, had had a better Opinion of the Courage of the *Portugueſes*; and had put a higher Value upon the Prudence of the *Vice-Queen Margaret* of *Savoy*, Dutches Dowager of *Montoua*, who adviſs'd him ſeveral times to diſpel the Tempeſt, which ſhe elſe foreſaw would fall upon the Spaniſh Monarchy. But the Duke was born to be an Example, that the too great Confidence which the Grand Miniſters of State have of their Abilities and their Fortunes, is moſt commonly the foundation of their Deſtruction; and that God infatuates the Counſels of Princes, whom He deſigns to puniſh.

ESSAY XCVIII.

Vitellius having made an Oration to the Senate full of Pomp and Oſtentation, was applauded with all the moſt exquiſite Flatteries which the *Fathers* could deviſe.

Says

Says D'Ablancourt, *He made a moſt Magnificent Oration to the Senate, which was receiv'd with no leſs Pompous Adulation.*

There needs no other Explanation of this Text, then what has been already ſaid in the 96. Article.

ESSAY XCIX.

Vitellius enquiring the cauſe of ſo much Light in a certain Tower, word was brought him that ſeveral Perſons Supp'd with *Lacina Tuſcus*, among whom the moſt conſiderable for Honour, was *Junius Bleſus*; at what time they that brought the News aggravated much more then it was, the Splendor of the Feaſt, and the diſſolute Riot of the Gueſts: Nor were there wanting ſome that accus'd *Tuſcus* himſelf and others, but *Bleſus* more hainouſly, for Debauching ſo publickly when the Prince was Sick.

Says

Says D'Ablancourt, Vitellius *lay very ill in* Servilius's *Garden; at what time he obſerv'd a great Company of Lights in a Houſe adjoyning, and demanding the reaſon, he was told that* Tuſcus Cecina *made a great Entertainment for* Junius Bleſus, *and ſeveral others of meaner Condition. Nor did they fail to give him an Account of the Magnificence of the Banquet, and the Exceſs of their Debauchery, and to blame the Maſter of the Feaſt, but more eſpecially* Junius Bleſus, *for Debauching ſo ſcandalouſly when the Emperour lay Sick.*

There can be nothing ſaid more perhaps to this Subject, then what *Tacitus* himſelf repeats concerning the Death of *Bleſus.*

So ſoon, ſays he, *as certain of the Courtiers who make it their Buſineſs to dive into the ſecret Jealouſies and Diſguſts of Princes, perceiv'd that* Vitellius *was Exaſperated, and that* Bleſus *might be made the victime to his Indignation and their Envy, they made their Addreſſes to* Vitellius's *Brother, who out of a deprav'd Emulation hated* Bleſus, *whoſe high Reputation was an Eyeſoar to a perſon ſully'd with all manner of Infamy, and engag'd him to undertake the Accuſation of his Rival.* L. Vitellius *thereupon entring the*

the Emperour's Chamber, took his little Son in his Arms, and throwing himself at his brothers Feet, told him that the Trouble he was in, and the Supplications he made him with Tears in his Eyes, proceeded from no other cause, but his real good Wishes for the Welfare of the Emperour and his Children. That his most dangerous Enemy was not Vespasian, *whom so many faithful and couragious Legions, and so many Loyal Provinces prevented from approaching* Italy; *but a Person that* Rome *fomented in her Bosom, who boasted his Descent from the Family of the* Cæsars, *and a Branch of the* Junius's *and* Antonius's, *and who daily corrupted the Alegiance of the Soldery, by his Trayterous Liberality and Caresses. That all the World lookt upon him as already Emperour, to the contempt of* Vitellius, *who slighting equally both his Friends and his Enemies, suffer'd the Fortune of a Rival to grow great, who rejoyc'd to behold in the midst of a Luxurious Feast, his Soveraign languishing upon the Bed of Sickness. And therefore it behov'd him to let him taste the sorrows of a sad and dismal Night for his unseasonable Jollity, that he might both understand and feel* Vitellius *was alive and Emperour, and had a Son too to succeed him.*

And

And thus we ſee how Sycophants envenome the moſt Innocent Actions of Men, of whom the Prince has once a Jealouſie, and ſpur their Soveraigns on to Cruelty and Tyranny. And this Example of *Bleſus* may ſerve to ſerve to admoniſh great Perſonages, how much it behoves 'em to be careful of themſelves, and to 'em underſtand the Dangers to which their Birth and Fortune expoſe 'em.

ESSAY C.

CONtrary to the Opinions of the moſt experienc'd of the Centurions who would have frankly given him their Advice, might they have been Conſulted. But the Favourites of *Vitellius* would not permit 'em to come near him, beſides that the Ears of the Prince were ſo poſſeſs'd, that all things profitable ſounded harſh, and nothing would be admitted but what was Grateful and Deſtructive.

Says D'Ablancourt, *Againſt the Opinion of his moſt Experienc'd Captains who would have given him their Advice, if he would have requir'd it: But he had been accuſtom'd for a long time to hear nothing but what was pleaſing and prejudicial.*

Sycophants underſtand ſo well to poſſeſs the Ears of the moſt part of unwary Princes, that in time they render 'em not much unlike *Vitellius*; there being very few that will endure to hear Truth ſpoken without Offence. Therefore it was that one of the Ancients reſembl'd Sycophants to Thieves, who when they go about to break open a Houſe in the Night time, put out their Candles for fear of being diſcover'd. For the firſt thing that Flatterers do in the Courts of Princes, is to remove from about their Perſons all Men of ſharp and penetrating Apprehenſions, though bold and able to give wholeſome Advice to their Soveraigns, and diſcover the Artifices which they make uſe of, to the prejudice of the deluded Prince. Thus *Nero* became a Prey to his Flatterers, when once they remov'd *Burrhus* and *Seneca* out of their way, who labour'd by conſent, and made it their Buſineſs to infuſe into him Sentiments

ments becomming a Vertuous and *Magnanimous Governour.*

ESSAY. CI.

BUT Envy lay conceal'd, and Adulation practiz'd openly.

Says D'Ablancourt, *The Senate conceal'd their Sentiments, as well of Hatred as Envy, only their Flattery ſhew'p it ſelf openly.*

Obſerve here in two words, the Portraiture of the Court, where Hatred lurks in the Heart, while the Lips of Men are full of Adulation. The Chief Miniſters who ever they be, are ſtill Flatter'd by reaſon of their high Advancement, but Envy'd always by reaſon of their Power. It being the Cuſtom of Men to behold with murmuring and repining, Superiour Authority in the hands of thoſe that have been their Equals. *Mucianus* having written to the Senate, the Senate murmur'd in their Private Cabals. *If* Mucianus *be a private Perſon,* cry'd they, *why does he Write like a public Miniſter? Had he had any thing to ſay to*

us, he might as well have ſtay'd till his Return to Rome, *at what time he might have propos'd it himſelf in the Senate.* But when they were met in a Body, then they ſtrove who ſhould moſt applaud what they had condemn'd in private, even to the decreeing Triumphal Ornaments to *Mucianus* for a Civil War, which he had kindl'd by inciting *Veſpaſian* to Revolt againſt *Vitellius.* And this that the Senate acted at *Rome* in reſpect of *Mucianus*, is no more then what is daily Practiz'd in all the Courts of the World, where the Chief Miniſters and Favourites hear nothing but Encomiums of themſelves, becauſe all People fawn upon their preſent Fortune. But they are much deceiv'd who judge by their own Ears, of the inward Sentiments of their outward Adorers.

ESSAY CII.

A Certain Perſon known to have been long Blind, imploring with Tears the Cure of his Blindneſs, beſought the Prince to rub his Cheeks and the Balls of his Eyes with the Excrement of his Mouth. Another lame of his Hand, begg'd the favour that *Cæſar* would vouchſafe to Tread upon him with his Feet. *Veſpaſian* at firſt refus'd and laugh'd at the Petitions of both, as fearing the vain Iſſue of ſuch an attempt; till tyr'd with the Supplications of the Afflicted People, and the Encouragements of his Adulators, he was induc'd to have a better Conceit of himſelf.

Says D'Ablancourt, *One that was Blind and well known by the People, beſought him to rub his Eyes with his Spittle, as being the only means to recover his Sight; and another that was lame of one Hand, implor'd him*

likewiſe but only to touch the part Affected with the ſole of his Foot. The Emperour rejected both their Sollicitations at firſt with Scorn and Laughter, till preſs'd by their continual Importunities, he enquir'd of the Phyſitians whither ſuch a thing were poſſible to be done, waving between the Flatteries of his Courtiers, and the fear of rendring himſelf Ridiculous.

Tacitus makes the Commentary upon this place himſelf. Veſpaſian, ſays he, *Commanded the Phyſitians to conſult among themſelves, whether Humane Remedies could ſurmount the Nature of thoſe two Infirmities. The Phyſitians after they had argu'd the Point, concluded, that the Blind Man not having as yet quite loſt his viſual Faculty, the ſight of his Eye not being utterly Corroded away, his ſight might be reſtor'd, provided the Impediments were remov'd: And that the other's Hand might be recover'd, ſo that the Nerves that were ſhrunk, could be mollifi'd and ſtretch'd out to their natural uſe: That the Gods perhaps made choice of him to effect this great Miracle: Moreover, that the Glory of the Cure would redound to his Immortal Honour, whereas if it did not ſucceed, all the Laughter and Deriſion of the Cure in vain attempted, would fall upon the Cre-*

Credulity of those unfortunate Persons. Vespasian *therefore believing all things would submit to his Fortune, with a chearful Air went on, and condescended to their Supplications.*

Thus Princes at first withstand the Corruptions of Flattery, but sooner or later suffer themselves to be Vanquish'd by its Temptations. They may be Modest, Prudent, Constant, Resolute, Politic, and Judicious, yet Flattery always finds a way to steal into their Affections, and supplant those Vertues which she meets with in their Inclinations.

ESSAY CIII.

WHen *Domitian* read *Agricola*'s Will, wherein he left him Coheir with the best of Wives, and a most Pious Daughter, he rejoyc'd at it were to find so great an Honour done his Brother by so judicious a Person. So blinded and corrupted was his Judgment by continual Adulations, as not to discern that a Vertuous Father never left a Prince

Prince his Heir, unleſs he were a bad one.

Says D'Ablancourt, *When* Domitian *read* Agricola's *laſt Will and Teſtament, and ſaw that he had left him his Heir together with his Wife and Daughter, he took it for an Honour; being ſo Infatuated by Flattery, as not to apprehend that a bad Prince was never the Heir to one that was Vertuous.*

Princes that have a Kindneſs for Sycophants, are ſoon miſtaken in their Judgments, while the t'other make uſe of all their Art and Cunning, to diſguiſe the Truth of things. Self-love it is indeed that blinds the greateſt part of Men. But they have a Remedy which Princes want, in regard that either their Superiours or their Equals, are not afraid to tell 'em Truth, which is an eaſie ſtep to Reformation; whereas Princes having neither Superiours nor Companions, unleſs they pleaſe themſelves; all the World ſtudies to pleaſe or rather to miſguide 'em. Whence it comes to paſs that they delight in many things, which they would ſhun as the Rocks

Rocks of their Reputation, and as eternal Stains upon their Memories, had they but Faithful and Uninterrested Friends, who had the Courage to discover what their Sycophants conceal from their Knowledge. I wish to Heaven this little Treatise may prove acceptable to others as perhaps it may be unpleasing to them, who raise their Fortunes by Adulation.

FINIS.